

TOP STORY: THE MALCOLM X FILES

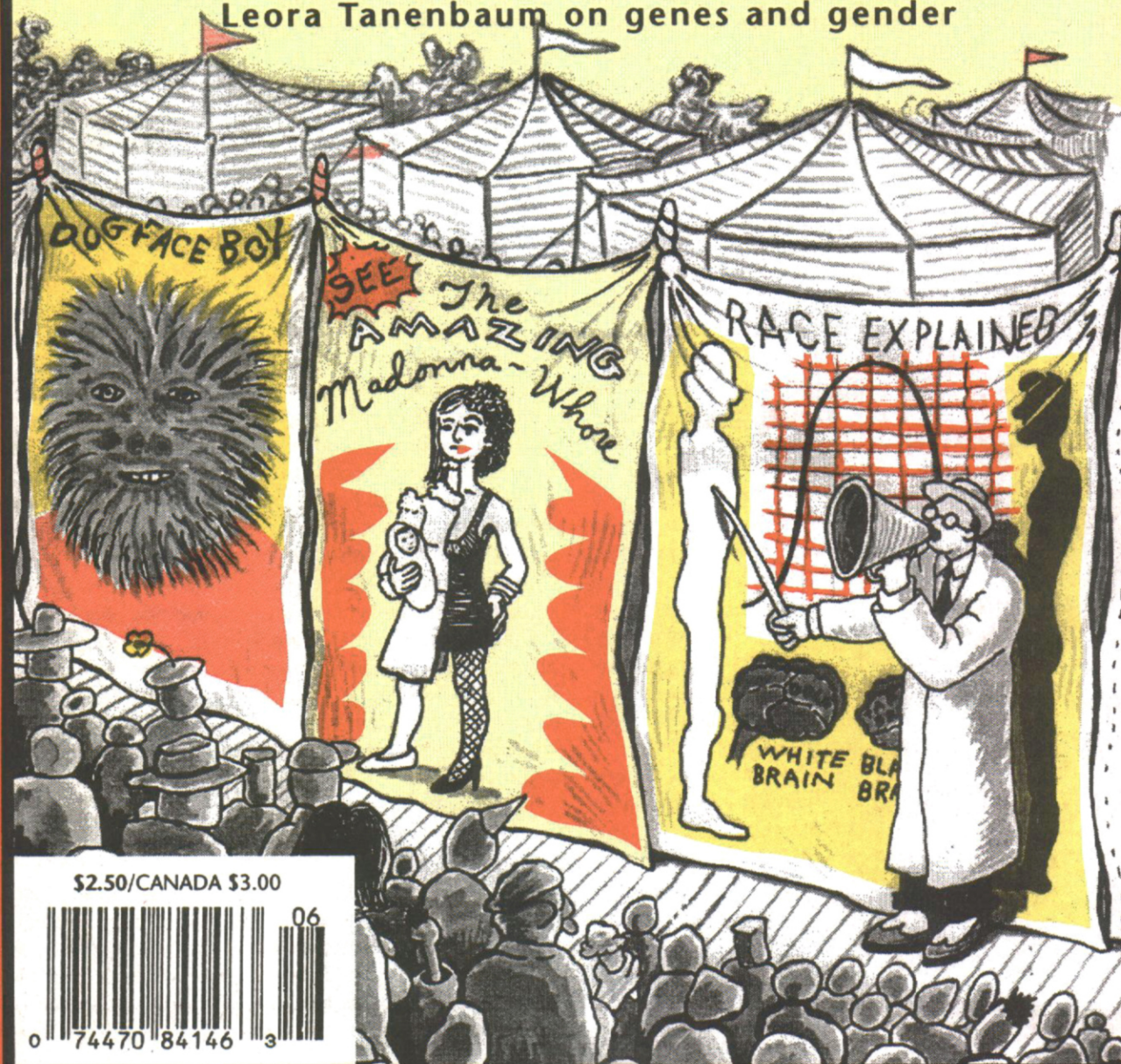
February 6-19, 1995

in THE SETTIMES

the alternative newsmagazine

SURVIVAL OF THE SPECIOUS

Beth Maschinot on *The Bell Curve* debate
Leora Tanenbaum on genes and gender



\$2.50/CANADA \$3.00



EDITORIAL

MEXICO BAILOUT PROTECTS THE WEALTHY

In the '20s, President Calvin Coolidge proclaimed that "The business of America is business." A generation later, Charles Wilson, President Eisenhower's secretary of defense, told us that "What's good for General Motors is good for America." Few Americans argued with either of them because the expansion of business generally brought with it greater numbers of jobs and a rising standard of living. Business may have been greedy, arrogant and callous, but as long as growth provided new opportunities most people remained optimistic about the future.

That was in the good old days. Now business is even better. Profits are high—many corporations, such as Chrysler, which received a \$1.5 billion federal bailout in 1980, made

The bailout violates Newt's vision of cutting public subsidies and ending paternalistic government intervention. But he and Bob Dole hear the call of corporate America and are ramming it through.

record profits last year. But virtually every major corporation, and many minor ones, are laying people off in steadily increasing numbers, even as their sales and profits grow. Millions of people have seen their jobs vanish and have been forced to take low-paying work. The largest private employer in the United States is Manpower Inc., a temporary agency. We're told by President Bill Clinton that 6 million new jobs have been created since 1992, but these have mostly been low-paying jobs in service industries, and fewer and fewer Americans feel secure about their futures.

What's good for General Motors is clearly no longer good for the rest of us, but big business controls the White House and the lead-

ers of Congress more firmly than ever. Their business is still business.

Even so, some hope must be offered to working people, and the new panacea is foreign trade. NAFTA would be good for America, we were told. The president and leaders of both parties in Congress promised it would create hundreds of thousands of new jobs by greatly increasing U.S. exports to Mexico. And to make their promises credible, they told us that Mexico was a stable, prosperous country in the midst of sustained growth.

Of course, NAFTA has been good for General Motors, and for the other manufacturers who moved their operations south of

the border. In the month after NAFTA passed Congress in late 1993, U.S. corporations invested \$3.9 billion in Mexico. And, as the *New York Times* tells us, "auto makers turned a swath of Northern Mexico into Detroit South." No wonder. Workers there are paid \$1 per hour. For every job transferred to Mexico, these companies increase their profits by tens of thousands of dollars.

But Mexico was not stable. Nor was it prosperous, though thanks to President Salinas' free market policies a small elite prospered almost beyond belief.

Now, as we go to press, the president is asking Congress to guarantee loans to Mexico to the tune of \$40 billion to protect the investments of banks, corporations and investment funds. And to do it quickly, because, as one Republican told the *Chicago Tribune*, "if this turns into a protracted fight it will not pass."

The problem is that many of the newly elected Republicans are opposed to foreign aid and government bailouts, while many liberal Democrats see this as another S&L scandal in which billions of dollars are given to protect the wealthy even as social needs go begging. Many of these Democrats opposed NAFTA, which passed only with heavy Republican support, including that of Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-GA) and Sen. Bob Dole (R-KS). They want President Clinton to force Mexico to raise workers' wages and enforce its environmental laws as a condition of the loan.

Gingrich and Dole are "trying to ram this through without hearings," in violation of their openness pledge, says Rep. Peter DeFazio (D-OR). And Rep. Dick Durbin (D-IL) explains the new Republican members' dilemma: while "the big corporations are telling them to vote for the bailout, the taxpayers are not."

The taxpayers are right. The bailout will rescue the banks and investment houses who saw Mexico as a way to make a fast buck, but it won't rescue Mexican workers who are being forced to sacrifice again by taking a substantial cut in real wages. Nor will it help working people here. Instead, it will mean more pressure on wages and jobs lost as exports to Mexico decline. And, of course, it will put even more pressure on Mexicans to cross the border in search of a livelihood.

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein
 Managing Editor: Jim McNeill
 Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide,
 David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil
 Asst. Managing Editor/Books Editor:
 David Futrelle

In Person Editor: Joel Bleifuss
 European Editor: Diana Johnstone
 New York Editor: Daniel Lazare
 Education Editor: Alex Molnar
 Contributing Editors: Bill Boisvert,
 Peter Karman, Ilan Stavans
 Washington Correspondents:
 John Canham-Clyne, John B. Judis
 Eastern Europe Correspondent:
 Paul Hockenros
 Far East Correspondent: Dave Lindorff
 Film Critics: Pat Dowell, Patricia Aufderheide
 Copy Editor: George Hodak
 Typo: Jim Rinnert
 Editorial Interns: Jake Blankenship,
 Annotasia McRae, Brian Rogal
 TTT Radio Coordinator: Miles Harvey

Art Director: Peter Hannan
 Associate Art Director: Lisa Weinstein
 Asst. Art Director/Photographer: David Schulz
 Cartoonist: Terry LaBan

Publisher: James Weinstein
 Associate Publisher: Beth Schulman
 Assistant Publisher: Claudia Morris

Business Manager: Robert Larson
 Circulation Director: Etelka Lehoczy
 Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 26 times a year by the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. Member: Alternative Press Syndicate. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1995 by the Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues and volumes of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Boylston, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in both the Alternative Press Index and the Loft Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. E-mail: it@igc.apc.org. Subscriptions are \$35.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). For customer service and to place subscription orders, call toll free: (800) 827-0270. Advertising rates sent on request. Available back issues are \$5 each; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 308 Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

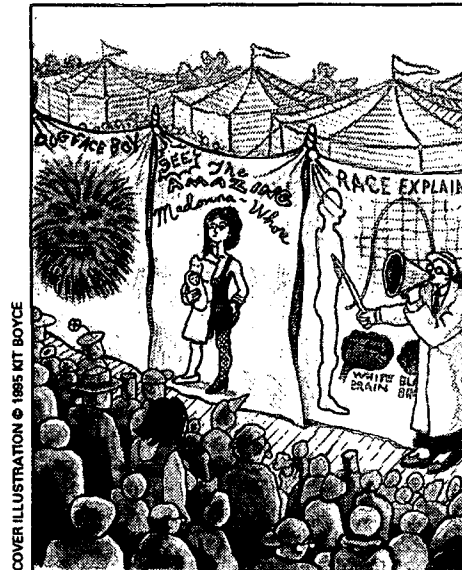
This issue (Vol. 19, No. 6) published February 6, 1995 for newsstand sales February 6-19, 1995



InTHESETIMES

CONTENTS

Volume 19, Number 6



COVER ILLUSTRATION © 1995 BY BILL STARNETS

The survival of the specious

LEORA TANENBAUM

on genes and gender...14

BETH MASCHINOT

on The Bell Curve debate...31

The Malcolm X files

A 1995 arrest resurrects questions about Malcolm's 1965 murder

SALIM MUWAKKIL

18

FEATURES

- First Stone: De facto deregulation • Joel Bleifuss.....12
 The Incredible shrinking peso • Leon Lazaroff21
 Management care • David Moberg24
 Labor's long march in China • Anita Chan27

REVIEWS

- Film: Rote learning • Pat Dowell29
 Books: Central America's age of insurgency • Van Gosse35

DEPARTMENTS

- Letters4
 Sylvia • Nicole Hollander4
 In Short6
 Appall-O-Meter6
 Media Beat • Pat Aufderheide8
 Rough cuts • J.A. Reid.....9
 In Person • Wim Roefs.....10
 Etc. • Jim McNeill.....10
 Huge Mouth • Peter Hannan.....13
 Classifieds37

LETTERS

A cornucopia of errors

Frankly, folks, your December 26 issue tries my patience. I'm not at all impressed by *ITT*'s response to Arthur Sanders' letter pointing out Marc Cooper's glaring error in the November 28 edition. The error, placing Dianne Feinstein in a race against Bruce Herschensohn in the 1992 Senate race when she really ran against John Seymour, does indeed call into question the political analysis of the writer.

But *ITT* doesn't see it that way, apparently. The response can be paraphrased as "So? Do you have any substantive criticism?" (Indeed I do. If I thought there was a snowball's chance in hell that *ITT* would print it, I'd take the time to do a critique of Marc Cooper's piece.) Listen up, because this is coming from a friend: The appropriate

response when a significant error is pointed out in your publication is to print the correct information plus a statement such as "*ITT* regrets the error." I then turned to the editorial page. I hadn't read two paragraphs before I groaned, "They're doing it again."

A quote from the December 26 editorial: "The main spokesman for the DLC is Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-OK), the expert on how to get re-elected who lost his once-safe seat to a real Republican in November."

The above quote is nonsense! A fantasy of the writer! The fact is that Rep. McCurdy gave up his congressional seat in order to run for the Senate seat vacated by David Boren. He didn't run for re-election! (He did indeed lose his Senate bid to Jim Inhofe, a darling of the Religious Right.)

The above two errors are not trivial. A magazine devoted to alternative political analysis that can't even get the

most basic facts straight—like who ran for what office and beat whom—brings into question whether it is worth the paper it's printed on.

Such errors also make me wonder if there is any fact-checking done before publication. There needs to be, if it's not happening today.

ITT cannot depend on the charity of people like me to keep subscribing and keep *ITT* out of bankruptcy. Even liberal consumers have standards. When the product is journalism, the top indicator of quality is accuracy. Obviously, *ITT* has a way to go before it can claim to be a high-quality product.

Sharon Tremble
via the Internet

Editor's response: Yes, we should have said we regretted the Herschensohn-Feinstein error. We certainly regret the McCurdy error from our December 26 editorial. Mercifully, Tremble overlooked an equally sloppy mistake in that editorial. In the very first line of the piece we had Michael Dukakis running in the 1984 election, not in the 1988 election. No excuses, just embarrassment.

The full picture

I can't tell you how disturbing it is to find your publication, which I have come to trust for critical analysis and perspective, print inaccurate and mis-

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



leading information.

In Roger Kerson's back-page article (ITT, November 28), he manipulates the facts. It is unclear whether *In These Times* is aware of this deception. Enclosed is a copy of the poster as it reads throughout the Evanston community. (See picture at right.) Clearly, as you can see, the bottom of the poster was not printed in your publication. Was it cut off by Kerson or by you?

The purpose behind the poster is to help educate and influence the public. The poster encourages people to give generously to agencies who can best serve the needy. Hopefully, it directs those in need to a service that is most appropriate for them.

Evanston does not have a "crusade against generosity," as Kerson asserts. That's absurd. No one has been a greater advocate for the genuine needs of the poor, homeless or panhandler than the business community of Evanston.

I think Kerson is desperate to write a cynical article about the irony of cut-backs in a time of great need. I hope he can do so without twisting the facts. I do not feel I can trust a paper that prints just any manuscript without checking the source. You are ultimately responsible for this misrepresentation. I question the integrity of a paper that prints false material.

I believe you owe it to your readers to reprint the poster in its original form and insist that Mr. Kerson respond to this letter.


Laurie Callinan
Evanston, Ill.

Roger Kerson replies: Although I did suggest the "This Won't Help" poster as an illustration for my article, I had no role in deciding how it was to be used. Your beef about the poster being partially cut off is more properly registered with ITT's art and/or editorial staff.

But I disagree that anyone was misled just because only part of the poster was shown. The only people being deceived in this situation are the good people of Evanston, who are being told that they can help people by not

This Won't Help.

Most panhandlers in Evanston are struggling with substance abuse and are not homeless.



These Will.

It's good to give. It's good to help.
But please give to help, not hurt.

<p>Provide Meals</p> <p>Ebenezer AME Church, 1109 Emerson St., 328-1707</p> <p>First Presbyterian Church, 1427 Chicago Ave., 864-1472</p> <p>First United Methodist Church, 1630 Hinman Ave., 864-6181</p> <p>Hemenway Methodist Church, 933 Chicago Ave., 328-2600</p> <p>Second Baptist Church, 1717 Benson Ave., 869-6955</p> <p>Unitarian Church of Evanston, 1330 Ridge Ave., 864-1300</p>	<p>Provides Shelter</p> <p>Center For Public Ministry Inc., 607 Lake St., 864-6845</p> <p>Provides Substance Abuse Counseling</p> <p>Peer Services Inc., 828 Davis St., 492-1778</p> <p>Provides General Assistance</p> <p>Salvation Army, 1403 Sherman Ave., 866-9770</p> <p>Provides Homeless Services</p> <p>St. Francis Hospital, 355 Ridge Ave., 492-6250</p>
--	--

giving them money.

The campaign against panhandling in Evanston is exactly what I said it is: a crusade against generosity. If you think it's anything else, then you've been fooled by the "inaccurate and misleading information" being peddled by the downtown merchants who want to get people they perceive as a nuisance off the streets.

If you're as passionate about this subject as your letter suggests, why don't you check a few facts. Call the agencies listed on the "This Won't Help" poster and ask them if their donations have increased lately.

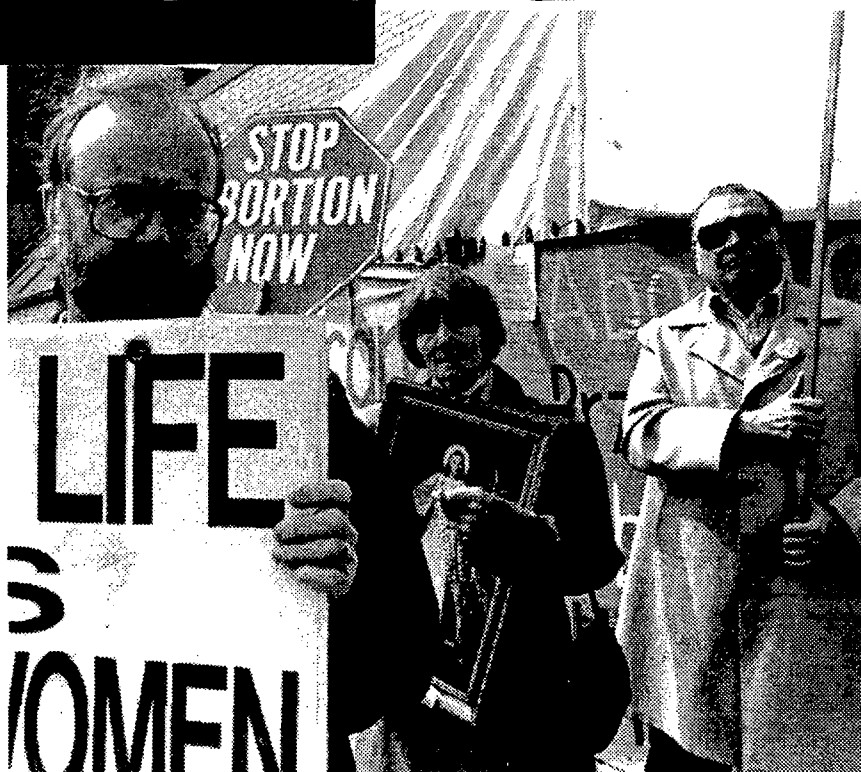
I bet they haven't. Increasing donations to social agencies is absolutely not the point of "This Won't Help," nor is it to "direct those in need to a

service that is most appropriate for them." The point is to deny panhandlers a source of income so they will move south of Howard Street—out of our fair city and out of our hair.

If you don't like giving money to panhandlers, that's your business. If I want to give, that's my business—or at least it should be. Even worse than the "This Won't Help" posters (which I find offensive) is the fact that the city of Evanston is using tax dollars to hire people to convince me not to give away my own money.

Don't take this the wrong way, but I'm glad you were disturbed by my article. Those of us who have a place to live and regular meals should be disturbed—daily—that there are people who don't.

INSHORT



© DAVID SCHULZ

FACE OFF

The recent murder of two women at abortion clinics in Brookline, Mass., provoked outrage among feminists and demands for government protection against anti-abortion violence. Now, more than a month after the killings, most leaders of women's groups are applauding the federal government's efforts to beef up security around clinics. But many fear that the new Republican Congress will drag its feet on providing funds for anti-terrorism efforts, and that the deepening climate of intimidation may keep women away from the clinics.

Anti-abortion violence has escalated in recent years. According to *ABC News*, abortion clinics and their staffs have been the target of 40 shootings, arsons and bombings over the last two years, with five people killed in the attacks. The harassment may already be scaring women away from clinics; the number of abortions performed in the United States last year was the smallest since 1976.

In the immediate wake of the Brookline killings President Clinton ordered the formation of task forces within each of the 94 U.S. Attorney's offices nationwide. Most offices had reported to Washington by January 20 on the



Duke redux

Former Klansman David Duke's political career may have temporarily stalled out, but he is taking heart in the current Republican resur-



gence. "I think the country's moving in my direction," Duke recently

told the *Washington Post*. "Sen. [Phil] Gramm and Mr. [Patrick] Buchanan and Jack Kemp are all sounding like David Duke. Pretty soon the Mormon Tabernacle choir will be singing from my song book."

Genius moves

Perhaps inspired by the recent successes of *The Bell Curve*, the newsletter of the Los Angeles chapter of Mensa



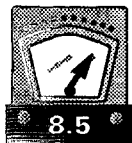
recently ran several articles advocating an extreme form of Social Darwin-

ism. One article suggested that "defective" people—including the sick, the retarded and the mentally ill—should be "humanely done away with, like abandoned kittens." Another suggested that Hitler's greatest crime was not the Holocaust but

"the fact that his actions prevent a rational discussion of the creation of the master race." After the articles appeared, the editor of the newsletter, Nikki Frei, was ousted from her post by irate members of the high-IQ group. For her part, Frei couldn't understand what the fuss was about. "I would not print anything I thought was truly harmful or offensive," she told the *Los Angeles Times*. "I don't think it's even that offensive—nobody wants to have a deformed child."

Open wound

A Navy medical investigator earlier this year concluded that military surgeons acted improperly in removing the



reproductive organs of a female officer who had gone to a military

hospital in 1986 for an appendectomy, the Associated Press reports. In addition to the accidental sterilization, Marine Sgt. Lori Jolley also suffered for seven years from a two-and-a-half-inch-deep open abdominal wound left from the surgery. "We did not serve her well either medically or administratively," the Navy medical examiner conceded.

APPALL-O-METER SCALE

1. Models Inc.-redible!
2. Infomercial Irritating
3. Plausibly deniable
4. L.A.P.D. blue
5. Bob Dole-icious
6. Renault Cédra-tic
7. Otto North nasty
8. Meltday in Rwanda
9. Zhdanovskyesque
10. Where have you gone, Joe Goebbels

steps they had taken to better enforce clinic laws, particularly the Federal Access to Clinic Entrances Act (or FACE, signed into law last May) which makes it a violation of civil rights for protesters to bar patients' access to clinics.

The Justice Department also announced on January 17 that it was reviewing statements and writings by anti-abortion activists that seem to condone or encourage violence against clinics and providers of reproductive health services. The department "has really intensified its investigation of groups and individuals espousing homicide," says Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League. Having met a number of times with high-ranking department officials, Michelman says they "now understand that this is a nationwide campaign of domestic terrorism," adding that, while it would be premature to call it a full-blown conspiracy, officials see "a pattern of communication."

While it may seem strange or even unconstitutional for federal officials to focus their investigation on threatening speech, the approach has a certain logic to it. The anti-abortion movement emphasizes motivating rhetoric, such as the recent Defensive Action declaration, signed by 29 prominent anti-abortion activists, which argues that violence against abortion providers can be regarded as "justifiable homicide." Magazines such as *Life Advocate* regularly publish articles expounding these views.

Still, as encouraging as the Justice Department's response may be, the department requires some cooperation from the legislative branch to further enhance protection. "Lack of money cannot be an excuse for not protecting clinics," says Michelman. Stronger law-enforcement efforts require Congress to allocate more funds for the defense of clinics. But with Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-SC) and Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL)—both foes of abortion—chairing the Senate and House Judiciary Committees, that may present a problem. "Congress needs to take some responsibility," adds Michelman. She strongly criticizes Hyde, who has said that clinics should pay private security services to provide protection. He claims it's just the cost of doing business. But Michelman says, "It's not the cost of doing business; this is a constitutional right just like the right to vote."

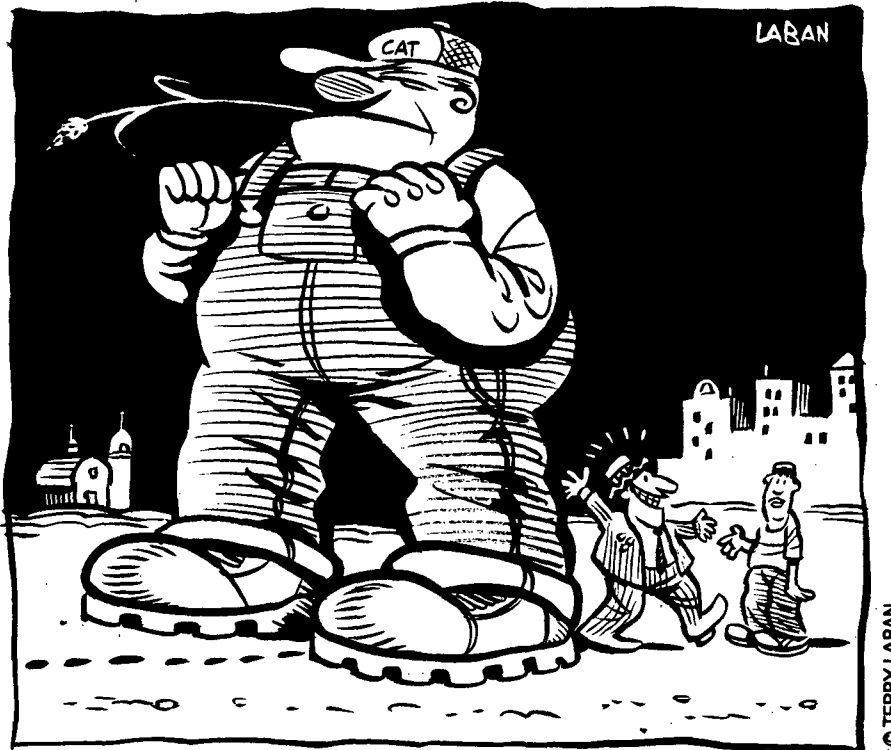
There have been nine FACE arrests thus far, and the civil rights prosecution of Paul Hill—who has already been convicted of murder for killing a Florida doctor who performed abortions—is continuing. But John Salvi, the man accused of the murders in Brookline, has not been charged under FACE, nor has Wichita clinic bomber Shelly Shannon. Since the killings in Brookline there has been an increase in clinic requests for protection from federal marshals, according to the Justice Department. Shortly before the Brookline killings, the Feminist Majority Foundation released a survey showing that staff members at nearly a quarter of the clinics nationwide had received death threats in the first seven months of 1994.

What concerns the Justice Department and others who would defend a woman's right to abortion is not the 85 percent of Americans who feel the right should be protected, but the stubborn 8 to 12 percent of abortion opponents who say, according to one recent poll, that "the use of force to prevent abortion is justifiable." While clinic attacks have received more attention of late, it's hard to say whether the scrutiny will dissuade the tiny minority of fanatics responsible for the violence. "Those murders dramatically shook the consciousness of America," says Michelman, especially the willingness of the media to look more intently at the phenomenon of clinic violence. "Will it result in stopping more murders? I'm not so sure."

—David U. Andrews

CITYVOTE'S PRIMARY INTEREST

Given America's endless quadrennial trek through the presidential primaries, you'd think the last thing anyone would want is to set up yet another round of pre-election balloting. But that's exactly the aim of a new grass-roots, non-partisan political reform movement forming in cities across America. Called CityVote, it will organize cities into their own presidential preference primaries concurrent with their November 1995 local elections.



CityVote's backers want to end the domination of the primary/caucus system by elites within the Democratic and Republican National Committees. These insiders control who appears on state primary ballots and who gets invited to nationally televised candidate debates. The obstacles erected by the major parties ensure that third-party and independent candidates fall prey to the media's self-fulfilling prophecy: The media ignore them because they "can't win," and they can't win because they don't get any media exposure.

Another problem with the current system is that the nation's urban centers are largely excluded from the crucial early primaries and caucuses, which are held in some of America's most rural states—Iowa, New Hampshire, Maine and South Dakota. The media fixate on these states as if they alone determine who will be the major parties' candidates. The number of convention delegates from these states is minuscule, yet every four years we're treated to endless news reports of candidates traipsing through Iowa cornfields and New Hampshire snowbanks.

CityVote was initiated by Larry Agran, former mayor of Irvine, Calif., and 1992 Democratic presidential candidate. Agran was frustrated at his own

MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

Open and shut

Last month, when Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich announced the launching of "Thomas" (i.e. Jefferson), an on-line server of federal government documents, he claimed it would give ordinary citizens unprecedented access to information that has long been closely held by Washington lobbyists. But even as Gingrich hyped his Jeffersonian node in cyberspace, Sen. Larry Pressler (R-SD) proved that government as usual goes on.

Pressler, chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, was furious when he learned that a draft of his committee's telecommunications bill—which had been circulating among lobbyists—was leaked to the press. He ordered committee members and staffers not to discuss any more details of the bill with the media. (By the way, Pressler had just chewed out Reed Hundt, head of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), for banning the press from a commission proceeding.)

The Republican telecommunications bill proposes drastic deregulation. The bill would make the FCC justify all existing broadcast regulation, placing the commission's entire history of public-interest regulation under fire. In addition, the proposed legislation would eliminate the ban on foreign ownership of media; it would permit cable and telephone companies to buy out each other's businesses, opening the door to new and more powerful monopolies; and it would let local phone companies get into

long distance business within three years, which long distance companies think would mean unfair competition.

Maybe Newt can convince Chairman Pressler to put a draft copy of the bill up on Thomas, so everyone can debate the info-future. That would be refreshing news to users of Thomas, which presently offers a stale set of documents already available on other government servers.

Internet action

Electronic mail alerts sent out over the Internet by Amnesty International helped rescue a missionary condemned to death by Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Court. According to a recent report on the use of the Internet by human rights groups, recipients of Amnesty's e-mail messages flooded Iranian embassies with letters urging the court to spare the missionary, who was scheduled to die on January 6 for seeking converts to Christianity. The Iranians not only commuted the death sentence, they also agreed to free the missionary.

That story, and similar cyberspace rescues, can be found in *Communicators of Conscience: How Humanitarian and Human Rights Organizations Are Tapping into the Internet*. The report, which draws on interviews with eight humanitarian organizations, is available for free from the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center, Columbia University, 2950 Broadway, New York, NY 10027.

© 1995 Pat Aufderheide

exclusion by the national media and the Democratic National Committee (DNC), by the lack of attention to urban concerns during the campaign, and by the fact that Bill Clinton emerged from the March 10 Super Tuesday primaries as the designated front-runner, even though two-thirds of the delegates had yet to be elected. Many observers believe that the DNC had a clear strategy to engineer Clinton's de facto nomination by mid-March, thus creating the illusion of a mandate for their own conservative agenda for the party. Indeed, Clinton would have been the sole remaining Democratic candidate after Paul Tsongas dropped out on March 19, had Agran and Jerry Brown not resisted DNC pressure and stayed in the race.

CityVote's backers want to open up the presidential nominating process to independent and third-party candidates, and correct its anti-urban bias. Under the scheme, cities will hold non-binding presidential preference balloting in November 1995, when presidential campaigns are in full swing but nearly three months before the Iowa and New Hampshire events. The proposal has been formally endorsed by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, and 10 cities have joined up so far: Minneapolis-St. Paul; Boston; Baltimore; Pasadena, Calif.; Moscow, Idaho; and the cities of Spokane, Olympia, Tumwater and Lacey in Washington state. San Francisco, Portland, Tucson, Cleveland and Houston may also participate. CityVote has also announced plans for four televised debates in the fall of 1995.

Access to the CityVote ballot won't be determined by the parties or the media. CityVote will publish criteria that will specify how a candidate can participate, regardless of party affiliation. Voters will be able to choose from all candidates on the ballot, not just those within their own party affiliation. For more information about CityVote, write to CityVote, 14978 Sand Canyon Ave. Suite A, Irvine, CA 92718, or call (714) 552-9596.

—Stephen C. Smith

(Stephen C. Smith is a public policy consultant, and issues director for CityVote. He invites comments via the Internet at scsmith@igc.apc.org.)

ROUGH CUTS

By JA Reid



IN PERSON



PHOTO COURTESY OF SKIES AMERICA

ECO TRAILS TO YOU

Lisa Tabb's travel tips

just Go! was bought by a commercial publisher and last year turned into the more mainstream, unabashedly profit-seeking *EcoTraveler*—albeit with the 28-year-old Californian still at the helm.

"They hired me to be the spokesperson because of my left leanings," Tabb says. And, of course, because she is a—perhaps *the*—pioneer publisher in eco-tourism, the fastest-growing segment of the travel industry.

"Eco-tourism," Tabb says, "puts a dollar value on standing trees, living animals and people, flowing rivers and mushy wetlands."

Tabb supports tourism that strengthens local economies, at home and abroad. That way the money stays where it is spent, allowing communities to resist takeover efforts by developers who might not have the environment's best interests at heart. Therefore, she says, "The locals can keep it forever, instead of having to sell out for short-term profits."

The popularity of adventure trips also helps the cause. "For the most part, adventure tourism is based on eco-tourism," Tabb says. Because the environment is the product being sold, tour operators who want to continue to make money had better preserve their product.

"Oh, I already was a capitalist," says a smiling Lisa Tabb, publisher of *EcoTraveler* magazine. "Now I am just a useful capitalist." Her "hard-core" eco-tourism magazine

ETC.

By Jim McNeill

Dying wish?

In his December 12 article for *In These Times*, "The austerity police," Doug Henwood revealed a little-known fact about America's much-maligned Social Security system: The nearly unanimous predictions that the system will go bankrupt sometime next century are based on some very suspicious economic assumptions.

As Henwood explained, the key to Social Security's solvency is a healthy economy. If the U.S. gross domestic product (GDP) grows at a modest annual rate of 2.5 percent over the next 75 years, the system should be running a substantial surplus by 2070. But, as Henwood noted, "the heavily advertised disaster waiting to happen in the Social Security system is based on official projections of very slow GDP growth over the next century." In fact, the trustees who run Social Security are forecasting that GDP will expand at an anemic pace of just 1.5 percent over the next 75 years—a rate even lower than the 1.9 percent growth experienced during the Great Depression of the '30s. If the trustees' deeply pessimistic scenario holds true, the system will hit the tank a little more than a decade into the next century.

So why are Social Security's trustees lowballing their figures? Perhaps they're just exercising extreme fiscal prudence. But Henwood suspects something more sinister may be at work. In an excellent essay in

the latest issue of the *Left Business Observer* (Number 67), Henwood notes that public pension systems around the world are under attack from conservative reformers who worry that generous retirement plans may cripple the global economy. With people living longer, and the number of retirees growing rapidly, Henwood acknowledges that future pension arrangements need to be carefully reconsidered.

But, he notes ominously, pension "reform" is now being directed by austerity-minded institutions such as the World Bank. In its recent study of pension reform, *Averting the Old Age Crisis*, the Bank looks approvingly to Chile for a free-market model. In 1981, Gen. Augusto Pinochet privatized Chile's pension system—forcing all workers to put 10 percent of their earnings into private savings plans. The move has been a great boon for financiers, who've received "a fat and ready pool of cash to play with," Henwood notes. But for ordinary Chileans, the new system has been a disaster. "The new system reinforces, rather than corrects, for income inequality," he writes. And the administrative costs of Chile's private pension plan are far higher than the old public system.

Citing the inequities of the Chilean system and other Bank-supported schemes, Henwood wisely counsels progressives to spurn "the Bank's goal of turning the public pension check into a minimal grant rather than a life-supporting sum."

The vastly greater resources available to her at *EcoTraveler* mean that Tabb can spread the message around, instead of preaching to the small audience of the converted who read the intern-driven *just Go!* "I wanted to help popularize the concept of eco-tourism," she says.

Gone, therefore, are the intense faces of indigenous women that graced the covers of *just Go!*—put there as a take-off on *Cosmopolitan* and other American women's magazines. They have been supplanted by *EcoTraveler's* more playful faces and easy-on-the-eye landscapes.

Just Go!'s statement of principle prohibiting "ageist, sexist, homophobic, militaristic and racist ads" has been replaced by no statement at all, although Tabb refuses all cigarette advertising and managed to talk a client into changing an ad she considered sexist.

The emphasis in *just Go!* on what Tabb calls "the international, indigenous, off-the-beaten-path stuff about places where even experienced travelers would only go every few years" has been replaced by *EcoTraveler's* slick formula of two international and three domestic pieces on family travel, "hard" and "soft" adventure travel, and one five-star, environmentally sound resort. Only one international piece per issue is allowed to deal with obscure foreign destinations—that is, areas outside of Europe, Mexico or the Caribbean.

EcoTraveler, with a circulation of 140,000, is "a travel magazine for *Utne Reader* subscribers," says Tabb—after all, to claim it is "for *In These Times* subscribers" would be too transparent a sales pitch.

The inspiration for the magazine came at an alternative mountain retreat near Guadalajara, Mexico, where Tabb was on one of the many nature-based trips she had learned to love as the daughter of globetrotting, progressive Berkeley, Calif., parents. She was sitting under a waterfall when the thought struck her, "There is no magazine for people who like to do this."

Then a sophomore at the University of California at Santa Cruz, Tabb had worked as the business manager at an "extremely progressive college newspaper" and at an ocean sports magazine. "I realized that I loved working on magazines and I was interested in the business side, but I was also raised with a strong social consciousness. What I did had to contribute to the world."

The plan fell into place under that waterfall, but back in California Tabb had a hard time scraping up the money to bring *just Go!* to press. In one day she hit five local loan sharks for high-interest loans of about \$2,000, and then maxed out her credit cards. "I still had good credit at the time," she recalls.

The 8,000 copies of her first issue sold out nationwide in six weeks. Substantial media coverage followed, yet advertising remained a problem and investors an illusion. Tabb's operation remained "totally bootstrapped." Through "four years of bread and water," she pieced together a living delivering singing telegrams and publishing a zine for San Francisco coffeehouses.

As it turned out, she was sitting on a ham sandwich and starving. "Let's say a veggie burger and starving," she says. Eco-tourism was becoming a major trend, and consequently a cash cow that corporate publishers could no longer ignore. Beginning in June 1993, investors began flocking to her door.

Eventually, Skies America International Publishing & Communications, which publishes Northwest Airlines' in-flight magazine and the Portland Trailblazers basketball team's *Rip City*, bought *just Go!* Although she sold off her magazine, she did not sell out. "They offered the best package in terms of sharing the vision of where I wanted to go with the magazine and retaining me as publisher and visionary," Tabb says. "I have a contract for several years."

—Wim Roefs

T H E F I R S T S T O N E

CONTRACT HIT MEN

By Joel Bleifuss

Newt Gingrich and the Republican congressional majority intend to dismantle a generation's worth of regulations that protect both public health and the natural environment. Of course, the Contract with America doesn't come right out and sound an environmental death knell. In fact, the word "environment" isn't mentioned once in the 82-page contract.

The *San Francisco Chronicle*, nevertheless, accurately characterized the Republican contract as "a wholesale assault on the entire body of environmental protections achieved over the last 25 years—a virtual clear-cutting of laws and regulations designed to conserve environmental resources and protect human health and safety."

In order to deflate current public and environmental safeguards, the Republican right is deploying a multifaceted legislative assault. The only green spot in this political blight is that the environmental community might burn off some of its Washington deadwood and cultivate local growth.

That Republican "reform" package, which was described in the Contract with America but barely reported in the press, will serve to tie up any attempt at federal regulation in a bureaucratic gridlock.

The first of the Republican measures to be rushed through Congress would prohibit "unfunded federal mandates." Under this legislation, states and local governments would not be required to enforce federal regulations that protect public health and safety or environmental quality, unless the federal government pays the cost of enforcement.

The federal mandates proposal exploits a real problem in order to provide a non-solution—a non-solution from which a panoply of corporate interest groups will profit. True, local and state governments are strapped for cash. True, the federal government has mandated that states, counties and cities fund programs, and then has failed to provide financial support to cover the cost of those mandates. Since federal money was not available for such programs, local and state governments were forced to pay for them through regressive sales and property taxes, which put a real squeeze on the middle class. Of course, money is

scarce in large part because of Reagan-era tax cuts.

"It is an amazing scam," says Peter Montague, editor of *Rachel's Environment and Health Weekly*. "People are being told that Uncle Sam is the cause of the problem, but it really is the result of shifting the tax burden from the rich and the powerful." The commonsense solution to the problem of mandates, according to Montague, is to "tax the corporations and the rich to fund the programs that people want."

The mandates bill is not only an amazing scam, but a scam with an ironic twist. The bill, if signed by President Clinton, will require that the federal

government provide money to pay for any new regulation it puts on the books. How such a law will affect former regulations remains to be seen. Since the budget-cutting fervor in the capital will likely stifle new expenditures for stiffer regulations, the result of such a law would be de facto deregulation.

The Washington-based OMB (Office of Management and Budget) Watch has been coordinating opposition to the mandates proposal in an attempt to inject a modicum of sanity into the debate. "When people find out about these proposals, they won't support them," says Harold Colton-Max, an OMB Watch policy analyst. "That is why the Republicans are trying to rush these votes through the Senate and the House. There are a lot of unanswered questions, yet the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee didn't even schedule a hearing on this proposal."

Jay Feldman, the executive director of the National Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides (NCAMP), has been tracking the new Congress closely. "The question we are facing as a society," says Feldman, "is whether the federal government has a responsibility to establish minimum and adequate standards of public health and environmental protection."

Feldman now finds himself in the odd position of defending regulations that he last year criticized as woefully inadequate. "A short few months ago the environmental community was talking about major reforms in the pesticide area. Now we will be lucky if we can hold on to the current standards of protection, which are admittedly weak," he says. "It all depends on how far unfunded mandates go. Depending on how badly it is defined, unfunded mandates could reach across the regulatory spectrum. Everything you tell a state to do can be translated into a cost."

The extent to which regulations that protect the public will be gutted also depends on how successfully the Republicans are able to carry out their plan to redefine risk. NCAMP's Feldman has been paying particular attention to the contract's proposal to subject any regulation that affects "more than 100 people" to a risk assessment that is based on a cost-benefit analysis. Under the Republican proposal,

the government would conduct a risk assessment for every safety or environmental regulation it proposes, and the results of that assessment would then have to be approved by "peer review panels" made up of "scientific experts" who have "experience with the substance for which risk assessment and cost-benefit analysis is conducted."

But in almost all cases the only scientists with such experience work for the very industry that manufactures the substances under review. In other words, the industry will in effect regulate itself, with the right to veto any proposed regulation.

And there may soon be very few regulations to assess. House Republicans have gone beyond their contract and resurrected an industry daydream once championed by former Vice President Dan Quayle's Competitiveness Council: a six-month moratorium on the enforcement of all new federal regulations.

In addition to protecting people from intrusive laws that protect the quality of our air water, Newt and his followers have plans to defend private property from similar government interference. To that end the Republican contract seeks to block new regulations by shrewdly reinterpreting the Fifth Amendment's "takings" clause, which has traditionally been applied in eminent domain cases to ensure that the federal government reimburses private property owners for any land it condemns.

But the GOP's reinterpretation of the takings clause would force the government to reimburse any corporation or individual whose land or business loses 10 percent or more of its value due to federal regulations. In other words, an industry that pours chemical poisons into the air would have to be compensated by the taxpayer for the loss of income it incurs due to clean-air laws that restrict pollution. According to Montague at *Rachel's Environment and Health Weekly*, such legislation encourages business owners to think, "I have the right to use the air as a toilet, and you don't have the right to clean air."

Like other proposals in the Republicans' bag of deregulatory tricks, any such takings legislation would be strongly opposed by the public—if they knew what was at stake. A recent *Newsweek* poll pointed out that 73 percent of Americans would be "upset" if government reforms led to weakened environmental regulations. Unfortunately, most of the national media has so far been content to ignore the full ramifications of the Republican counterrevolution.

A wide range of environmental orga-

nizations are currently gearing up to fight any deregulatory proposals the Republicans introduce. The National Wildlife Federation, for example, argues in a recent flier that "corporate interests are cynically preying on the legitimate fears of people in economic hard times" to promote an environmental backlash.

But backlashes can backfire. Last November the voters of Arizona, at the same time that they elected a contingent of reactionary retreads to Congress, resoundingly defeated Proposition 300, a ballot initiative that would have established the nation's first state-level takings law. The ballot measure was supported by the National Association of Realtors, the National Cattlemen's Association and various mining companies such as ASARCO. The environmentalists opposing Proposition 300, who rallied under the banner of the Arizona Community Protection Alliance, were outspent 3 to 1. Yet they triumphed, with 60 percent of the vote, because they mobilized a sophisticated grass-roots campaign utilizing polling and focus groups.

That victory in Arizona could point the way for a new kind of environmental movement, a movement led by people who realize that Beltway-focused politics is a losing politics, that corporate interests will always be able to outspend, out-manuever and out-lobby the best-intentioned Washington reformers.

THE ADVENTURES OF A HUGE MOUTH

by Peter Hannan



Gene fools

The current Darwinian revival is giving a specious respectability to some very old-fashioned ideas about women and men.

By Leora Tanenbaum

It's hard to escape Darwin these days. His theories about evolution were first advanced in the 1850s, but the ideas of the Victorian scientist are regaining popularity in the 1990s. The book on every pundit's reading list, after all, is *The Bell Curve*, which resurrects the neo-Darwinian concept of genetic racial superiority. But although at the moment everyone is talking about IQ and race, in recent years evolutionary biology has more often been applied in relation to gender, yielding conclusions that would be considered absurd if they didn't confirm long-standing assumptions about men's and women's societal roles.

A slew of mass market books in the last two years has expanded on the idea, first developed by Darwin in the 1870s, that evolution has caused women and men to have fundamentally dif-

ferent predispositions when it comes to sex, love and marriage. From Helen Fisher's 1992 bestseller *The Anatomy of Love* to Robert Wright's much-hyped 1994 *The Moral Animal*, in cover stories in *Time* and *The New Republic*, the bottom line is the same: men naturally desire more sexual activity with a wider variety of partners than women do. And women care more about the parental role than men do. Millenia of evolution, it is said, have led to these uniquely feminine and masculine patterns of behavior.

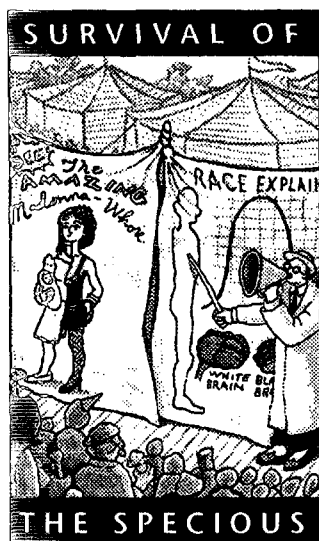
"People are rediscovering Darwin," comments Stanford historian Carl Degler. "It's an attempt to explain why we are as we are as human beings. Culture by itself is an inadequate explanation for every kind of human behavior. It makes sense to look at reproduction and why men and women would differ."

Degler is right: The biological study of gender is a legitimate and valuable project, and one that is too often dismissed by those who like to think of the world in purely cultural terms. But some scientists get carried away: they ascribe human characteristics to genetics alone. Inevitably, they lose sight of the fact that culture and nature together determine who we are and how we behave.

Ruth Hubbard, biology professor emerita at Harvard, suggests that Darwinian thought is not unlike a religion. "It tells us how to live, [suggesting] that women should stay home and take care of babies. For most Americans, this is more valid than having it written in the Bible." And, like some other fundamentalisms, Darwinism fits suspiciously well with traditional notions about gender. It's telling that *New Republic* editor Robert Wright has discovered a Darwinian imperative behind female domesticity at the same time that Bill Clinton, Dan Quayle and Newt Gingrich have united in support of old-fashioned family values.

Neo-Darwinists always claim that they are simply being descriptive, not prescriptive: they're just telling it like it is. But if you look at the history of the application of Darwinian concepts, it's clear that they have always been entwined with social trends, and have always had political implications. When it was first introduced, Darwin's theory of natural selection—described as "survival of the fittest" by Herbert Spencer when he applied the theory to public policy—was a hit with the upper class of late-19th-century Victorian England, who found in it a biological rationale for their superior position in society.

But the hegemony of the biological explanation began to weaken in the 20th century. In the 1920s, as Degler notes in his book *In Search of Human Nature*, Margaret Mead was convinced that culture, rather than nature, explained variation among humans. Findings from her field work in Samoa—a culture she found profoundly different from the



American way of life—led her to believe that differences between men and women were culturally determined.

The heyday of cultural explanations, Degler points out, coincided with the Depression; since so many were in the same boat, it was clearly preferable to attribute poverty to social conditions rather than to innate characteristics. As American society changed, though, so did the explanations of its social and sexual roles. Amid the sentimentalized glorification of the family in the years after

World War II, the cultural argument waned and biology once again came to the forefront. Mead herself changed course, and in her 1949 bestseller *Male and Female* she suggested that men and women had fundamentally distinct gender roles. Ever since, the marriage of biology and gender studies has become steadily more popular.

When feminists burst onto the political landscape in the late '60s and '70s, they railed against the reactionary determinism of evolutionary biology. But feminism, like Mead, has changed. Amid today's neo-Victorian revival—with anti-porn feminism and chastity education in the air—feminist thinkers such as Carol Gilligan, Deborah Tannen and Catharine MacKinnon draw, consciously or not, from the old-time assumptions of Darwinian theory.

And these assumptions are hardly verifiable. Evolutionary biologists look to animals for clues about human behavior. But while we may learn something about the physiology of humans by studying the physiology of animals—after all, we do test the toxicity of substances in humans by first exposing rats to them—it is absurd to expect studies of animal behavior to provide profound insights into the complexities of human decision-making.

The theory of "sexual selection," the cornerstone of the Darwinian study of gender, is a case in point. The theory was designed to explain the puzzling fact that many animals have characteristics that, on the surface, would appear to hinder their survival. Peacocks, for example, have colorful, ostentatious plumage, which makes them an easy target for predators. Perhaps, Darwin suggested, the gaudy plumage helped the peacocks impress potential mates, allowing them to more easily find partners and thus helping to ensure the reproduction of their genes. It wasn't long before peacock plumage was likened to fashionable clothing and makeup.

Even insects are said to reveal fundamental truths about human behavior. Basing his theories on experiments with fruit flies, plant geneticist Angus John Bateman concluded in 1948 that males of all species profit from frequent mating, while females, for whom reproduction is a rather time- and

energy-consuming affair, do not—which is why "there is nearly always a combination of an indiscriminating eagerness in the males and a discriminating passivity in the females."

And so, the neo-Darwinists argue, it's only natural that men are promiscuous, eager to get into the genes of as many women as possible. Women, on the other hand, are choosy and coy, always on the look-out for the "best" men they can find, because they have a lot to lose from indiscriminate sex.

Helen Fisher explains in *Anatomy of Love* how these evolved traits define the different styles of flirtation practiced by men and women in places "as different as the jungles of Amazonia, the salons of Paris and the highlands of New Guinea." The typical woman (whether Parisian or Amazonian) "smiles at her admirer and lifts her eyebrows in a swift, jerky motion as she opens her eyes wide to gaze at him. Then she drops her eyelids, tilts her head down and to the side, and looks away. Frequently she also covers her face with her hands, giggling nervously as she retreats behind her palms." This, Fisher writes, is a "human female courtship ploy that evolved eons ago to signal sexual interest."

Men, for their part, "also employ courting tactics similar to those seen in other species." The "chest thrust"—whether practiced by a pumped-up corporate raider or a jungle gorilla—is "part of a basic postural message used [by males] across the animal kingdom," Fisher explains. "Codfish bulge their heads and thrust out their pelvic fins. Snakes, frogs, and toads inflate their bodies."

Robert Wright trots out anecdotes of his own in *The Moral Animal*. "In species after species," he writes, "females are coy and males are not." Male snakes, for instance, "have been known to spend awhile with dead females before moving on to a live prospect."

And male turkeys are so indiscriminating that researchers have been able to lure them into avidly courting stuffed replicas of their female counterparts. "In fact," Wright notes, "a replica of a female turkey's head suspended fifteen inches from the ground will generally do the trick."

While sexual eagerness is the hallmark of all males, regardless of species, females are said to be concerned with finding a mate who will be a good parent. For instance, the male African village weaverbird displays his nest when he spots a female in the vicinity. She will take a look, examining it from every angle for as long as 10 minutes, making sure it reaches her high standards before she agrees to mate. "By exerting a preference for males who can build a superior nest," David Buss explains in *The Evolution of Desire*, "the female weaverbird solves the problems of protecting and provisioning her future chicks. Her preferences have evolved because they bestowed a reproductive advantage over other weaverbirds who had no preference and who mated with any males who happened along."

In the mind of the neo-Darwinists, all chicks are alike: "Women, like weaverbirds, prefer men with desirable

'nests,' " Buss explains in all seriousness. In the largest inquiry ever conducted into the gender differences of mate preference, Buss oversaw a cross-cultural study that spanned 37 cultures and encompassed 10,000 people located on six continents and five islands. How Buss was able to ensure that hundreds of researchers from so many different cultures employed uniform, unbiased research methods is not addressed. The unbelievable tidiness of the results doesn't faze him for a second.

Buss found that women everywhere, even in socialist and communist political systems, desire men a few years older than themselves who possess economic resources and social status. "All these cues," Buss concludes, "add up to one thing: the ability of a man to acquire and control resources that women can use for themselves and for their children."

And how does a woman adequately size up a man to assess his economic and social standing? Not very scientifically. Buss' colleagues took their notebooks to several singles bars in Michigan, emerging with the emblematic story of one woman perhaps too easily impressed by male bravado. The woman recalled sitting at a table with her girlfriend. "Then Bob walked in ... like he owned the place, smiling broadly and very confident," she remembered. "He caught my eye, and I smiled. He sat down and started talking about how horses were his hobby. He casually mentioned that he owned a horse farm," and suggested they could go riding right then.

"It was 2 a.m. and I left the bar and had sex with him," the woman told the researchers. "I never did find out whether he owned horses."

The lesson for men, Buss implies, is to act confident. Women are so impressionable they will assume you have status and resources, even if you don't. (Perhaps that's why Buss' own writing oozes with self-assurance.)

Men have their own preferences. Buss found that men in every one of the 37 societies choose wives who are younger than themselves and physically attractive—the reason being (as the neo-Darwinists claim) that a sprightly woman is probably fertile and will produce healthy offspring. "Youth, clear skin, bright eyes, vibrant hair, white teeth, a supple body, and a vivacious personality indicate good health, vitality important to his genetic future," notes Fisher. But whereas a man without resources can fool a woman into assuming he's high-status by bragging about his horse farm, what's a woman who possesses neither youth nor vibrant hair to do? The evolutionary biologists are silent on this point.

For anyone with a nagging suspicion that men really are, by their nature, more promiscuous than women, Buss' study seems like total validation. But before the would-be woman-

izer runs to a singles bar in search of fresh genetic material, consider the teleological way this research was conducted and you'll see that his "conclusive" results seem shaky. Buss started out with the thesis that the mate preferences of men and women differ, and he went out in the field to try to confirm his suspicion; he had the answer to his question even before he began. In fact, all gender-difference research is similarly tainted, because the eagerness to embrace findings that confirm commonly held beliefs is inevitably irresistible.

The air-tight logic of sexual selection is used to explain just about everything to do with sex. Adultery is easy enough to understand among men, who are, neo-Darwinists say, inherently interested in sexual variety. But what about women, who supposedly are monogamous by nature? Women might become adulterous, Fisher theorizes, as an insurance policy, in case a current partner dies and in order to acquire varied DNA for the biological future.

Once you get the hang of it, divorce, too, is simple to explain. Fisher found, after examining United Nations demographic reports since 1947, that divorce tends to peak around the world after the fourth year of marriage. She thinks that the "four-year itch" has evolved from ancestral couples, who needed to stay together only until a child was weaned from total dependence on its parents. After that time, the parents felt unencumbered and would seek other partners to maximize the chances of their genetic success. For Fisher, this is explanation enough. Why explore the possible cultural reasons for divorce when a natural explanation is so easy and popular?

Wright takes the Darwinian theory of sexual selection further, using it to explain the psychology of men who lump women into the immutable categories of Madonna and whore—women

they respect and women they sleep with and abandon the next morning. "If you find a woman who appears genetically suitable for investment, start spending lots of time with her," he writes, summarizing—and seemingly endorsing—the folk Darwinian logic. "If she seems quite taken by you, and yet remains sexually aloof, stick with her. If, on the other hand, she seems eager for sex right away, then by all means oblige her. But if the sex does come that easily, you might want to shift from investment mode into exploitation mode. Her eagerness could mean she'll always be an easy seduction—not a desirable quality in a wife."

Just because an idea is politically reactionary and offensive doesn't mean it is scientifically invalid, of course. But in fact, writers such as Fisher, Wright and Buss are on shaky scientific ground. It's nearly impossible to prove the evolution of a single characteristic in humans—and even if one could be proven, there's no way to know if that characteristic is genetically transmittable to the next generation. Victoria Sork, a plant evolutionary ecologist at the University of

It's only natural, the neo-Darwinists say, that women are chaste and coy, while men try to get into the genes of as many women as possible.

Missouri in St. Louis, points out that environmental factors always have and always will obscure genetic determination. "For example," she says, "if all of a sudden there was a law passed that said that everybody except those with blond hair would be moved to the desert without water, most people would dye their hair blond. And we would get more blondes in the next generation because parents would dye their kids' hair as soon as they were born. So we would have evidence of selection, and a response to the selection—but there would be no genetic basis to the character."

In any event, the logic of sexual selection isn't even all that solid, either. There are many things it can't explain: women who prefer rough sex over cuddly relationships, gay and lesbian sexuality, sex during pregnancy—the list goes on and on. Anthropologist Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, for instance, observed the active sexuality of female primates who approach and solicit their male partners, countering the stereotype of passivity and coyness. Many females in other species—including birds, fish and cats—are sexually assertive and have many male partners.

Some feminists are using this knowledge to turn the sexual selection paradigm on its head. Mary Batten, a science journalist and author of *Sexual Strategies: How Females Choose Their Males*, argues that it is females, not males, who are the dominant ones, "the decision-makers" in the mating game. It is the female who attracts the male to her—whether she is a chimpanzee, sticking "her swollen, reddened rump in the male's face to show him she is in ... heat," or a woman dousing herself with perfume.

Women, Batten argues, "seem to know that one of their most crucial roles is to choose their mates—to decide who, among all their suitors, will father their children. They feel little ambiguity."

Although Batten claims she is transforming the Darwinian paradigm, she does little more than simply reverse the stereotypical gender roles, keeping the idea of a gendered power struggle intact. In fact, her model has much in common with that of Fisher, Wright and Buss, since they all define women according to their reproductive function.

Batten's "dominant female" perspective reflects what *Nation* columnist Katha Pollitt has termed "difference" feminism—"a kinder, gentler, leftish version of 'family values,'" a modern version of the Victorian ideology of sepa-



rate spheres. If you close your eyes, you can hardly distinguish between "difference" and Darwinian feminists.

Patricia Adair Gowaty, a field biologist at the University of Georgia, is at the forefront of this group of Darwinian feminists. Gowaty's approach is rooted in the belief that feminism and evolutionary biology have a great deal in common. "Both begin with a focus on variation in traits," she explains. "I think Darwin was a genius. But I also think he was a Victorian and like all of us, many of his ideas were suggested to him by his experience in a particular culture. I don't think Darwin was wrong as much as incomplete." She, like Darwin, conceives of the genders as two distinct and competing entities—but with a feminist spin: men seek to control women's sexuality and reproduction. Women, in turn, must struggle to maintain their sexual independence.

Other feminist biologists are alarmed by the implications of this line of thought. Judith Masters, an anthropologist at State University of New York at Stony Brook, argues against sexual selection because "it is a theory that comes out of a need to see males and females in conflict with one another and having different kinds of agendas. But I don't think that's necessarily what's going on." It doesn't make evolutionary sense, she maintains, to look at males and females as competing over reproductive success.

"I think instead we should look at the ways males and females work together as a breeding pair and how genes are passed from one generation to the next," Masters suggests. Such a holistic approach is able to take into account the fact that not all females reproduce—a reality that mysteriously is overlooked in both the traditional and "difference" feminist variations of Darwinian theory. Such an approach also factors in modern cultural developments such as the contraceptive pill, which gives women reproductive control unforeseen by Darwin—or, for that matter, by nature.

Robert Wright has lamented that "[t]here is not a single well-known feminist who has learned enough about modern Darwinism to pass judgment on it." If only that were true. The real problem is that so many are absorbing modern Darwinism, with all its silliest excesses, and are passing judgment. They are endorsing it.

Leora Tanenbaum writes about gender and culture for *In These Times*, as well as for *The Nation*, *The Boston Phoenix* and *Manhattan File*.

B L A C K A M E R I C A

The X files

S

hock waves from the 30-year-old murder of Malcolm X still echo strongly in the consciousness of black America, and unanswered questions about the Nation of Islam's (NOI) role remain near the epicenter. On January 12, new tremors were triggered by the arrest of Malcolm's daughter, Qubilah Bahiya Shabazz, on charges that she plotted to assassinate current NOI leader Louis Farrakhan, who many believe helped plan Malcolm's murder. The case against Shabazz, which seems such an obvious instance of entrapment, lends credence to the NOI charge that the government had ulterior motives for its action. But if arresting Shabazz was intended to tarnish Farrakhan's reputation and provoke intraracial antagonisms (as the NOI insists), the action has had the opposite effect. A wide

spectrum of black leadership has rushed to Farrakhan's defense.

Shabazz was named in a nine-count indictment, alleging she made eight telephone calls and traveled from New York to Minnesota to arrange Farrakhan's assassination. According to press reports, the purported hit man hired by Shabazz was also the government informant. He has been identified as Michael Fitzpatrick, a former classmate of Shabazz and a set-up artist who was used previously by the FBI to infiltrate peace groups and the Jewish Defense League (JDL). Fitzpatrick is a "vicious racist" according to former JDL colleagues quoted by the Associated Press. He reportedly has lived much of his adult life in the federal witness protection program and has been called an agent provocateur by many who know him. He

is also facing charges for a cocaine possession arrest that occurred while he was under federal protection.

The alleged plot to assassinate Farrakhan was a two-person operation, involving just Shabazz and Fitzpatrick. Shabazz reportedly made a \$250 down-payment after moving from New York to Minnesota. Prosecutors are expected to push the notion that Shabazz was seeking to avenge the 1965 murder of her father. The defense will argue that Shabazz was entrapped by a manifestly unscrupulous agent who exploited their childhood friendship.

At a news conference responding to the issue, Farrakhan said he believed Shabazz had been entrapped and expressed sympathy for her family. He empathized with her desire to avenge a murdered father and at one point he summoned his wife and five daughters to the stage. "If anyone would do harm to me, and if the government did not do justice," Farrakhan said, pointing to his daughters, "they would not hesitate to avenge my death and they would not hire someone to do it. They would do it themselves."

He was speaking at the group's headquarters mosque on Chicago's South Side. The crowd bulged beyond the building and the spillover quickly filled the neighboring gym, which was equipped with several closed-circuit screens monitoring events in the mosque. The address was also linked to various colleges across the country through a special satellite connection. Major media outlets brought in their forests of satellite technology. The scope of the crowd and the rush of activity forced police and NOI guards to close off part of

The arrest of Malcolm X's daughter has reopened wounds that the government and the Nation of Islam might prefer to keep closed.

By Salim Muwakkil

© 1995 BILL STAMETS



the broad boulevard on which the mosque sits.

Farrakhan used his time in the spotlight to make a pitch for reconciliation. "Although this is a dark hour for Betty Shabazz and her family, for me, the Nation of Islam and my people, I hope it will be an opportunity to heal wounds that were inflicted on the Nation of Islam and the black community." It was also an opportunity for the 61-year-old firebrand to display the kind of defiance that so endears him to an otherwise dispirited black community. He urged African-Americans to file a class-action suit demanding the government "open all files" on its role in the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. He also used the occasion to promote a planned march on Washington in October by 1 million black men that the NOI is helping organize. All of these issues provoked roaring ovations from the enthusiastic crowd, but the reference to the October march generated the loudest response. Clearly, the notion of such a massive display of purpose by 1 million disciplined black men strikes

a pleasing chord in the heart of black America. **The Minister Louis Farrakhan**

The scheduled march probably provokes a much different response from those who are distressed by Farrakhan's growing influence, and there's no doubt that U.S. law-enforcement officials are among that group. It's not too far-fetched to suggest that the arrest of Shabazz was a ham-handed attempt to stoke the smoldering resentments between the acolytes of Malcolm and Farrakhan's NOI, and could very well be the opening shot in a campaign to sabotage the march.

But those resentments smolder because the NOI's role in Malcolm's murder remains unclear. "The NOI must come clean by admitting its historic role in Malcolm's death and accepting long overdue criticism and condemnation for its crime," wrote Baba Zak A. Kondo in his 1993 book *Conspiracys: Unraveling the Assassination of Malcolm X*. Kondo, an assistant professor of African diasporan history

at Maryland's Bowie State University, argued that "until the NOI leadership consistently addresses the truth in this matter, the wounds will continue to inflame and fester."

In his exhaustively researched volume, Kondo concluded that five members of the NOI's Newark mosque planned and carried out Malcolm's murder, but that they were aided and abetted by the FBI and other government forces. Kondo concurred with other investigators who have determined that two of the three men charged in the crime—Thomas Johnson and Norman Butler—were innocent.

Talmadge Hayer was the only suspect arrested at the scene of the assassination, and he has provided information implicating four others in the murder plot. Hayer's testimony was excerpted in the July 1980 edition of *Al Qalam*, a magazine published by African-American Muslims not affiliated with the NOI. His testimony was included in a petition for freedom by Johnson and Butler. Although Hayer and the four men he named were all NOI members, the fact that no legal authority has yet followed up on the information that he and others have provided suggests to some that there was government complicity.

Although Farrakhan was not implicated by Hayer, he conceded in an August 1990 interview in *Emerge* magazine that he helped create the climate that led to Malcolm's assassination. One of his contributions to that climate was a 1964 article in *Muhammad Speaks*, the NOI's house organ, in which he declared Malcolm worthy of death. Expressing remorse over the infighting of the '60s, Farrakhan told *Emerge*, "the least we can do is not pass on to generations the hatred, the pettiness, the things that we did in our immaturity that helped to create the climate in which he could be assassinated." The NOI leader echoed Kondo's call for a candid reckoning when he told *Emerge*, "Whatever wrongs have been done, the wrongs have to be corrected so that we give our children a better legacy to build on than the legacy of hatred and hypocrisy and injustice that we perpetuate one against the other."

But Farrakhan has grown in stature since 1990, and now he seldom expresses the need to "correct" the wrongs he confessed to *Emerge*. At the NOI's 1993 Saviors' Day convention he took another tack. Referring to Malcolm's attacks against NOI founder Elijah Muhammad, Farrakhan said: "When you hurt the prophet, the people say, you must die. The Messenger (Elijah Muhammad) don't have to give no order to kill you. ... If you want to live, leave that man alone where we are concerned. When Malcolm stepped across that line, death was inevitable."

Farrakhan's contradictory statements concerning Malcolm's death reveal the uneasy balance that the NOI leader has been attempting to strike. In NOI lore, Malcolm is indelibly labeled, "The Hypocrite," and strongly condemned as an evil apostate. Yet Farrakhan must satiate NOI fundamentalists without alienating Malcolm's growing fan club.

As Kondo noted in *Conspiracys*, the tension between Malcolm's admirers and NOI hard-liners is ripe for

exploitation by groups seeking to divide black Americans. "Of course, the FBI, CIA and other enemies would welcome various camps in our community warring with the NOI over Malcolm's death decades after the fact," Kondo presciently wrote in his 1993 volume. "Our enemies, in fact, would do their best to feed and manipulate the conflict. Should we as a people permit such a development, we will have no one to blame but ourselves. For the NOI's and our people's sake," he writes, "I appeal to Farrakhan and the NOI leadership to set the record straight so the healing can begin."

It's undeniably true that Farrakhan has made some efforts to ease the discord. And his recent rapprochement with mainstream organizations like the Congressional Black Caucus, with black nationalist groups like the Black United Front and his controversial inclusion in the Rev. Benjamin Chavis' African American Leadership Summit all indicate that Farrakhan has found some success in defusing past conflicts. In recent years, the NOI leader has even been invited to speak at observances commemorating Malcolm.

News of the alleged murder plot by Malcolm's daughter was so shocking precisely because of Farrakhan's recent successes. But because Farrakhan must reinforce the divine status of Elijah Muhammad, he has declined to forthrightly condemn the attack on Malcolm. And by refusing to directly confront the excesses of the NOI's zealotry, Farrakhan is depriving his followers of one the most important lessons of Malcolm's assassination. ◀

Offered in Support of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, Lawrence KS

1995 Leonard Peltier Freedom Calendar

June 25, 1995, Marks the 20th anniversary of the incident at Oglaala, the shootout between the FBI and the American Indian Movement that left two agents and an AIM warrior dead.

Leonard Peltier has suffered ever since, railroaded by a justice system already predisposed to his guilt. After nearly two decades in federal prison, Peltier has become the United States foremost political prisoner. Despite the injustice he continues to be a strong leader, a symbol of their struggle for freedom after centuries of oppression. His unbroken spirit and hope find expression in his beautiful paintings. The 1995 Leonard Peltier Freedom Calendar honors his 20-year-long struggle for justice.



1995 Leonard Peltier Freedom Calendars are \$12.00 ea. or \$10.00 ea. for orders of 20 calendars or more. Plus shipping and handling.

To order please make check or money order payable to:
Kalamazoo Leonard Peltier Support Group
P.O. Box 50814, Kalamazoo MI 49005

Please send me _____ Calendar(s) Enclosed is payment of _____
Please add \$1.00 shipping & handling for a single calendar orders, \$3.00 for each order of 10 or more

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

PHONE _____

Please order early as supplies will be limited

MEXICO

Falling down

*Will the
collapse of the
peso bring
down a fragile
political
system?*

By Leon Lazaroff
MEXICO CITY

In just his second month in office, Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León has conspicuously failed to take the bull by the horns and deal with Mexico's economic crisis. In fact, the queasy look that haunts his face of late—the look of a matador who's just been gored in the stomach—suggests that the bull has taken *him* by the horns, along with the whole program of free trade and privatization he has pledged to carry out.

First the value of the peso plunged by more than 35 percent in late December, irreparably damaging Wall Street's esteem for the country's vaunted open economy. Then Zedillo's own Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) decisively rejected the president's personal orders to negotiate new state elections in the unruly Tabasco region and the always rumbling mountains of Chiapas, home of

the still-armed and growing Zapatista peasant rebels.

And for someone who ran on the slogan "He knows how to do it," the Yale economist-turned-politician seems uneasy managing the country's finances—his supposed specialty—let alone an increasingly independent and angry political scene.

Presidencialismo, the curiously Mexican phenomenon that affords the president virtually unlimited powers, may finally be coming to an end. "There is a rising sense of uncertainty about Zedillo's ability to lead Mexico out of this crisis," says Enrique Calderon, an academic and co-founder of the Civic Alliance, a citizens' election group. "The country has entered a very grave situation."

After a decade of free-market reforms, Mexicans are beginning to step back and question the neoliberal development model touted by Zedillo's predecessor, Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Salinas' program of abolishing trade constraints,

opening Mexico to foreign imports and turning state enterprises over to the private sector culminated in the 1993 NAFTA agreement with the United States. Oft-ignored critics say that these policies tied Mexico's fate to the whims of foreign investors and ultimately led to the current crisis.

Starting in 1989, Mexico slashed its tariffs to invite imports and lower inflation. As cheap imports flooded their markets, Mexican industries foundered. Bankruptcy struck businesses from textile and toy makers to small machine manufacturers and wheat farmers. Through it all, Salinas kept interest rates high and the peso heavily overvalued. Meanwhile, economists warned of eventual disaster.

Superficially, the strategy seemed to pay off. The inflation rate fell from over 50 percent at the beginning of Salinas' term in 1988 to under 10 percent in early December of 1994. But the high interest rates needed to bring down inflation pumped up Mexico's current accounts deficit—the trade deficit plus interest payments on foreign debt—to an alarmingly high \$28 billion. Mexican manufacturers, hamstrung by an overvalued peso that made their wares more expensive relative to foreign-made goods, were simply unable to compete with the imports.

The U.S. government went along with the charade in order to silence domestic critics of free trade. In the first 10 months of 1994, the United States ran a \$2 billion trade surplus with Mexico; the government pointed to this as evidence that NAFTA would mean more jobs for Americans, not fewer. "Everyone knew for a long time that the peso was overvalued but no one wanted to draw any conclusions from that because they were still arguing that the United States would have a trade surplus with Mexico," says Thea



© 1994 FRED CHASE / IMPACT VISUALS

**Zapatista rebels
maneuver in a
Chiapas jungle.**

Lee, an economist with the Economic Policy Institute in Washington, D.C. "They knew that if the peso came down to a more realistic level, the trade surplus with Mexico might evaporate."

Under the neoliberal regimen, foreign investment was expected to offset the flood of imports through the construction of new factories in Mexico. But rather than investing in equipment and infrastructure, international capital preferred to speculate in the Mexican stock market, looking for high returns in the short term.

In the early '90s, Mexico became the darling of the world's capital markets. Telefonos de Mexico (Telmex) stock became the most intensively traded issue in the history of the New York Stock Exchange, with nearly 1 billion shares trading hands in a single year. "Everyone was selling Mexican bonds and stocks and creating emerging market funds," says Luis Maisel, director of L.M. Capital Manage-

ment in La Jolla, Calif. "You can create ... the image that everything is fine, as long you're bringing money in."

And after NAFTA was ratified by the U.S. Congress in the fall of 1993, Mexico became the great frontier for a corporate America drunk with its victory in the debate over free trade. U.S. investors were dazzled by the endorsement that Wall Street, big business and Washington gave to the Mexican economy.

And Mexico was a good sell. Mexican companies showcased their Harvard and Yale graduates who dressed and talked just like their Wall Street counterparts. These were yuppie technocrats, not big-bellied generals who knew nothing about open markets. "They saw the Harvard and Yale [grads] and said 'these are guys like me, I can do business with them,'" says Walker Todd, former assistant general counsel and research officer at the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, and currently a trade lawyer. "The good-ole boy camaraderie was a significant factor."

But the euphoria ended when the Zapatistas launched

their insurrection in Chiapas on New Year's Day of 1994, offering a potent, armed and media-friendly challenge to free trade orthodoxy. The gloom deepened in March with the assassination of PRI presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio. To avert a peso crisis and keep the PRI primed to win the August presidential election, Salinas spent billions of dollars in foreign reserves to prop up the country's overvalued currency. As a result, Mexico's hard currency reserves dropped from \$27 billion in February to \$12 billion by December.

By the end of 1994, the combination of a bloated federal budget, a badly skewed trade deficit and a reliance on foreign investment was proving a recipe for disaster; and again, it was the Zapatistas who called the Mexican government's bluff. In the early morning hours of December 19, they launched a wide but short-lived series of highway blockades and takeovers of towns. Jittery Mexican investors, accustomed to economic chaos during presidential changeovers, quickly moved their holdings from pesos into dollars. When Reuters spread the news that the Zapatistas had announced the seizure of 28 municipalities, a major exaggeration, panic ensued.

In the following week, the peso lost more than 35 percent of its value. American investment banks and brokerage houses issued increasingly shrill reassurances that the currency markets would soon settle down, but neither these nor the soothing murmurs of the U.S. and Mexican governments could stem the tide. Frightened pension and mutual fund investors simply cut their losses and got out, leaving behind few tangible assets in exchange for the profits they had extracted from the Mexican economy. "The big mistake was to think that that money was coming to Mexico because it was interested in Mexico's development. It wasn't," says Ricardo Pascoe, a top strategist of the center-left opposition Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD). The ballyhooed Salinas model had turned out to be little more than a scam for short-term profits by New York brokerage houses eager for high dividends during flat periods on their own stock exchange.

Outside of Mexico, media coverage of the crisis focused on currency fluctuations and the stability of investments. Little mention was made of the systemic problems that plague the Mexican economy—the corruption, featherbedding, favoritism and red tape that limit growth and foster one of the most outrageously skewed distributions of wealth in the world. While 45 million people—half the population—live in poverty, Mexico also has 24 billionaires, the fourth highest number in the world. Even *Forbes* had to admit that the number of tycoons was "out of proportion to Mexico's place in the world economy."

And that disproportion is unlikely to change any time soon. The impact of the peso's devaluation on working people, let alone the half of Mexico's people that live in extreme poverty, is certain to be severe. The government's aimless Emergency Economic Plan allows only a 7 percent wage increase; after inflation, workers are looking at a minimum

wage 26.6 percent lower than in 1988, the year Salinas took power. People on a fixed income have seen their pensions drop from \$7.47 a day in 1981 to a current \$5.20 a day. In an economy so dependent on U.S. imports of basic items such as milk and soap, the drop in the peso's purchasing power has raised the price of these and other staples by more than 20 percent.

"My salary is shrinking while prices are going up. How are we supposed to live?" asks Marina Martinez, who makes and distributes uniforms in Mexico City. "Zedillo wants us to make sacrifices. The middle class always makes the biggest sacrifices. The upper classes, the rich government officials—what sacrifices are they making?" Martinez receives 800 pesos a week, plus some increasingly sparse commissions. Since the devaluation, her salary has fallen from \$235 a week to \$145.

Prior to these wrenching economic dislocations, few were willing to voice opposition to the government's policies. "The national mood has been such that anyone who doubted the foundations of the [neoliberal] model was disqualified as a resentful politico, an emissary from the the past or an enemy of modernization," wrote Julio Boltvinik, a professor at El Colegio de Mexico, in the newspaper *La Jornada*. But now, plunged into a crisis of declining wages and rising prices, people like Martinez are starting to question the neoliberal economic model that got them into this mess.

As they face a troubled future, Mexicans must endure the further indignity of watching their president run hat in hand to the U.S. Treasury for \$40 billion in loan guarantees to stabilize its wobbly peso. In return, they find themselves in the humiliating position of having to consent to a laundry list of demands from the Americans, who want Mexico to join the embargo against Cuba and to detain its own people when they try to enter the United States illegally. Mexico's desperation has, in the words of sociologist Carlos Monsivias, turned it into a "U.S. protectorate." But the loan guarantees are unlikely to help ordinary Mexicans as much as allay the fears of U.S. bondholders eager to get out of this crisis with at least their shirts intact.

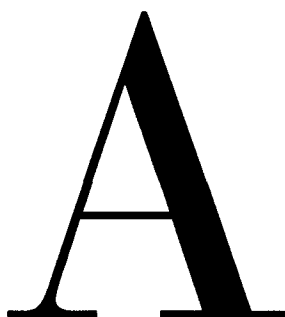
Mexico is entering a year filled with state elections in particularly turbulent regions. The economic crisis may be the spark that ignites an explosion in a society simmering with discontent. Ten million Mexicans are now unemployed, and that number is certain to rise in the face of high interest rates and government cutbacks on infrastructure projects and housing construction. And the upcoming negotiations with the Zapatistas are no guarantee that the rebels will lay down their arms.

The collapse of the peso, meanwhile, has sapped Zedillo not only of foreign investor confidence, essential to the neoliberal economic model, but has dimmed whatever prospects he had as an incoming president. "We are at a point where one could seriously wonder whether he will not last out the six years, but even last out this year," says the PRD's Pascoe. "The presidency is in crisis."

◀ Leon Lazaroff is a writer living in Mexico City.

U N I O N S

Management care



Clinton has approached labor law like health care, vainly hoping that catering to business might secure passage of moderate reform.

By David Moberg

After 19 months of deliberation, President Bill Clinton's Commission on the Future of Worker-Management Relations unveiled its proposals in January. The report promptly disappeared, ignored before it could be forgotten.

The mild-mannered recommendations of the commission—which included representatives from government, labor, business and academia—will clearly get no consideration in this Republican Congress. But the report is not irrelevant. It reveals much about why the Democrats are in such dreadful trouble and what they should do about it.

Labor Secretary Robert Reich and Commerce Secretary Ron Brown wanted the commission to endorse labor-management cooperation as the key to global competitiveness. After obligatory rounds of official hearings, the commission

complied. In that context, the commission proposed modifying New Deal-era labor laws that prohibit the creation of employer-dominated labor organizations, commonly known as “company unions.” That move represents an important victory for corporate America, which has complained that certain company-union prohibitions are impeding attempts to establish labor-management “cooperation” programs.

The commission, which was headed by Ford Administration Labor Secretary John Dunlop, did recommend some modest changes that might restrain employers’ anti-union strategies, making it a little easier for workers to form unions and to negotiate first contracts. And the proposed reforms would reinforce the fundamental tenet of national labor policy since the New Deal, which at least in principle commits the government to support the right of workers to organize independent unions. But the primary drift of the commission’s report is toward a new policy that makes labor-management cooperation the dominant objective of national labor law.

In reaching its conclusions, the commission badly misinterpreted the evidence before its eyes. Its proposals to aid organizing seem oddly feeble given the compelling evidence that employers routinely thwart workers’ desire for unions. For example, three-fourths of employers who face organizing drives actively oppose unionization. According to one recent study, 36 percent of workers who cast “no” votes in union elections said they voted against a union because of management pressure. Unfair labor practices by employers are common and rising; one in 50 union supporters in organizing elections is illegally fired, and such discharges occur in one in every four elections. Finally, when workers vote for a union, management continues to fight: in one-third of victories, workers never achieve a first contract, and within roughly five years half have no contract. Even under these circumstances, at least one-third of all non-union employees say they would vote for a union, and roughly another tenth say they would if management weren’t opposed.

The personal stories are appalling. Judy Ray, who decided to form a union after working 10 years at a Jordan Marsh department store in Boston, told the commission how she was tailed by security guards on her days off, was assigned a full-time supervisor to harass her, was timed going to the bathroom and was subjected to “harassment beyond what I could ever tell you.” Other workers fighting for a right to a union told similar tales: harassment that provoked a heart attack; blacklisting from the hospital nursing profession; threats to suspend promised pay increases unless workers abandoned their union.

A survey conducted for the commission showed that nearly two-thirds of workers want more decision-making

power on the job. Although the survey showed an overwhelming preference for joint committees that cooperate with companies, it also revealed widespread distrust of management. It would be a mistake to read too much into the preference for cooperative committees: many employees—especially white-collar and supervisory workers—have little familiarity with unions. Also, nearly every worker's first preference is to achieve goals cooperatively if that's possible. Yet how willing is management to cooperate? Not very, judging by the evidence the commission has gathered.

On the basis of its own fact-finding report, the Dunlop group should have pressed to give employees more power to organize unions and to have a stronger voice at work. Such recommendations would have been good economics, good social policy and good politics. The Clinton administration says it wants to practice "contrast politics" with the Republicans. Nothing would have drawn a sharper contrast with Gingrich and Dole than a ringing endorsement of the right of workers to organize and to have a powerful, collective voice at work. Clinton could have differentiated himself from the Republicans by condemning employers who forcefully deny those rights and refuse to cooperate with their own workers. That message would have appealed to both hard-core Democrats and to many swing voters. But it was never delivered.

Clinton approached labor law like health care, hoping that catering to big business by supporting cooperation schemes might secure passage of moderate reform. But it was a weak strategy based on a flawed theory. A lack of cooperation is not the central problem in U.S. labor-management relations. The far more critical problem is excessive corporate power, which managers wield without being held accountable to workers or to the larger society. Although the commission report claims that American workplaces are

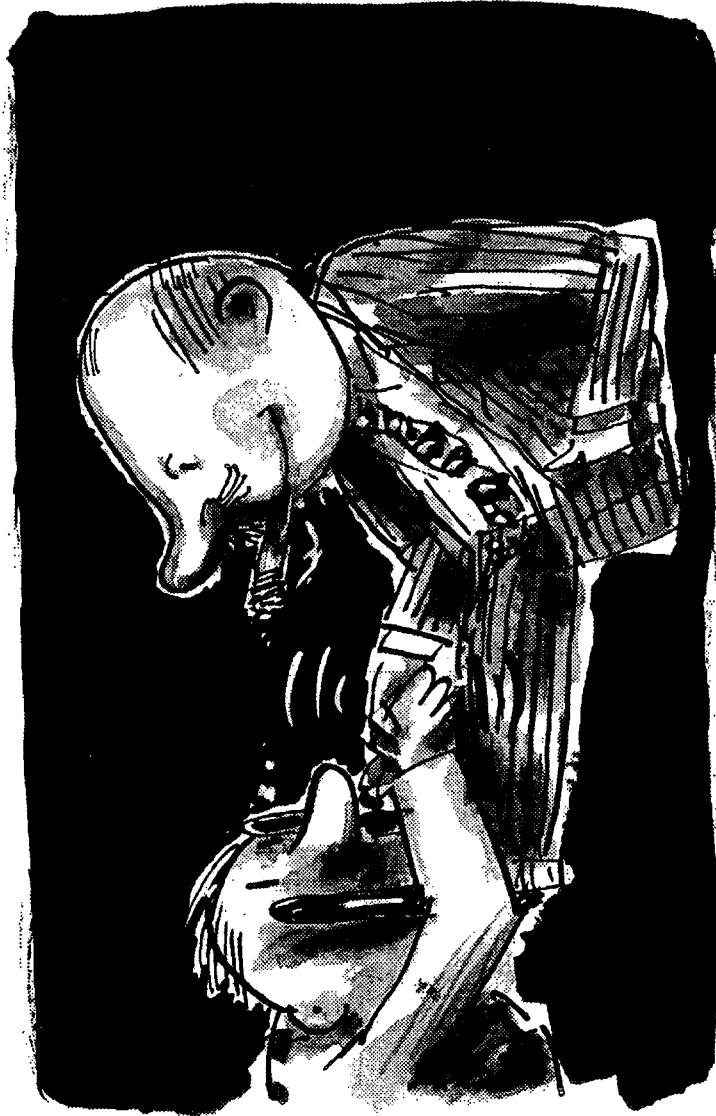
wracked by labor-management conflict, its own evidence contradicts that conclusion. Only 11.2 percent of private sector workers are in unions, and strikes have been at record low levels for years. But to the extent that there is tension, discord and distrust, it is overwhelmingly a result of management tactics, ranging from downsizing workforces and demanding concessions to illegally firing union sympathizers

and ratcheting up the levels of stress on assembly lines and in offices. If there is industrial warfare in America, it's one-sided. The way to end that war is by increasing democracy, which would give greater power to workers and force corporations to be more financially and socially responsible.

Many business consultants, academics and unions have argued that companies would do much better financially if they reached out to their workers and got them more involved in decision-making. It's an argument that many managers have accepted—on their own terms. Even as companies have grown increasingly harsh in their treatment of workers, they have expanded employee involvement plans, quality circles and other workplace measures designed to mobilize and motivate workers. As many as 86 percent of the Fortune 1,000

companies claim to have some programs for employee participation, although one proponent acknowledged that more than 95 percent of these plans are shallow and narrow.

After reviewing many studies, the commission concluded that employee-involvement programs of all types showed "mixed results" on raising productivity, quality or other economic goals. Few of the plans last very long or produce significant outcomes. However, in a rebuff to conventional wisdom that sees unions as obstacles to innovation, the commission found that employee-involvement plans last longest, produce the best results and are most common in unionized workplaces. Numerous other studies have found



©PETER HAMMAN

that unionization boosts productivity, though it may also squeeze profits.

In light of the evidence it offered, the commission should have concluded that the best way to boost productivity, quality and even cooperation—not to mention improving work lives and paychecks—is to encourage unionization. But it refrained from forcefully advocating for unions. Instead, the commission (with a lone dissent from former UAW President Douglas Fraser) not only extolled employee involvement plans, it concluded that existing legal barriers—especially against company unions—had blocked companies from instituting broad schemes. But that conclusion was presented without any evidence—other than a suspect survey of managers—that those legal barriers have impeded effective employee-involvement plans.

On the contrary, Cornell University labor educator James Rundle, in a contribution to the 1994 book *Restoring the Promise of American Labor Law*, found that the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) had overturned very few employer-initiated participation plans over the past two decades. Furthermore, in 97 percent of the cases in which the NLRB intervened the companies had initiated their plans in reaction to union organizing drives or had committed other unfair labor practices.

In a recent interview, Rundle said there was “absolutely no justification” for the commission’s proposal to modify the ban on company unions, which would allow incidental discussions of compensation issues and terms of work in company-dominated employee-involvement committees. “The Dunlop commission said they want to clarify the law,” Rundle noted, “but they are actually muddying it.”

Ultimately, the commission’s recommendations lead the administration down a slippery slope toward the Republican labor agenda. One of the top priorities of Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS), the new chair of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, is passage of legislation that would weaken the ban on company unions. She would permit management to set up committees—even to bypass an existing union—“to discuss matters of mutual interest” as long as those talks fall short of negotiating a contract. Such arcane legal reformulations are unnecessary for well-meaning attempts to reorganize the workplace, but they do open the door to new anti-union tactics.

Such attacks on unions are an integral part of Republican strategies that will greatly accelerate the troubling rise in income inequality that has occurred over the past two decades. Beyond weakening unions, most Republicans oppose raising the minimum wage, and some—like House Majority Leader Richard Armey—want to abolish the minimum wage altogether. Republican leaders are also planning to abolish the Davis-Bacon Act, the 1931 law that commits federal government contractors to pay fair wages on construction projects. By eliminating Davis-Bacon, the federal government would become a major force in driving down, not sustaining, construction industry wages.

Republicans also want to end the requirement that

employers pay overtime for work over 40 hours a week. That would depress workers’ wages and lengthen their work time, already nearly the longest in the industrialized world. Add to this mix welfare reform that will force poor, unskilled workers into the job market and a growing flood of Mexican workers forced north by a faltering economy, and the result will be enormous downward pressures on wages from a desperate pool of workers.

That’s where unions should come in. As noted in a 1994 study by the Institute for Women’s Policy Research, a Washington think tank, unions substantially improve pay and benefits for workers in typically low-wage occupations. Without measures to make unionization much easier, such as automatic recognition of a union when a majority of workers sign membership cards, the forces driving down the living standards of most working people will be overwhelming. Expanding the powers of corporations in an effort to strengthen worker-management cooperation—even if it did enhance “global competitiveness”—is hardly what is needed by the workers who swell the ranks of the low-paid service industries. They need unions ready and able to fight on many fronts and capable of designing new organizations for a fluid workforce.

Rather than search for cooperation with a business class that is clearly hostile to American workers, the Democrats should be laying the groundwork for a campaign that attacks business abuse of employees and champions their human rights, including the right to organize and have a voice on the job. This does not preclude cooperation with management. The Democrats’ labor policies can—and should—transcend the prerogatives of existing unions. But workers need their own independent voice and the power to make it heard. The frustrations of people with stagnating wages and insecure jobs undermined Democrats at the ballot box last November. Yet polling suggests that the electorate’s abandonment of Bill Clinton and congressional Democrats does not mean that ordinary Americans have embraced the policies of Newt Gingrich and the GOP. As Times Mirror Center pollster Andrew Kohut notes, most of the 67 percent of Americans who didn’t vote in November have opinions in a number of crucial areas that are nearly identical to those held by the 16 percent who voted Democratic. That 67 percent bloc—which includes a disproportionately large number of working-class and poor people—has more faith in the positive powers of government and is more concerned about the inadequacy of government aid to poor people than the 17 percent of the public that voted Republican.

Transforming the economically stressed and politically disaffected bottom four-fifths of the population into a voting Democratic majority will not be easy. But if Democrats want to argue that they’re on the side of working Americans, the first thing they should do is promise those people a meaningful voice at work—then deliver on that promise. Cuddling up to the corporations who abuse them is a loser on all counts. ◀



Labor's long march

*China's
workers rebel
against the
new world
order.*

By Anita Chan

China's massive export drive has made its economy boom and filled Western department stores with Chinese-made goods. It has also brought many Chinese a Dickensian regimen of exploitation and squalor. But even as global competition squeezes economies throughout the Third World, Chinese workers have begun to fight back.

The export drive has been fueled by thousands of foreign-run firms, largely located in the export zones that the government has established along the coast. The Chinese press and government studies both document the great extent of labor unrest in these zones, as strikes, work slowdowns and protests have become commonplace. In Shenzhen, an export-zone city of more than 1 million along

China's border with Hong Kong, there have been 1,100 cases of "collective labor disputes" over the past two years alone. Independent unions are illegal, but a recent article in *People's Daily* admitted the existence of spontaneous workers' organizations known as "village associations" or "laborers' social clubs," which during labor disputes "often resort to militant actions that aggravate industrial relations."

Even in the late '80s, the export zones in southern China's Guangdong province saw wildcat strikes against low pay, long hours and bad working conditions. But Beijing authorities paid scant attention to the protests at the time, viewing them as local outbursts with no potential to spread. The government's complacency seemed justified; after all, the ferment of independent trade union organizing during the Tiananmen protests of 1989 hadn't stirred any ripples in the southern export zones. The Chinese press continued to applaud the zones as an unmitigated success.

But as foreign capital poured into the zones in the '90s, the number of strikes and slowdowns in the south shot up, especially at the foreign-owned factories. The unrest poses an embarrassing problem for party leaders, local governments and China's official trade union, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU). No longer can government and union officials simply ignore the atrocious working conditions at many of the foreign-run firms in the zones. China, after all, is still supposed to be a "socialist" state.

Factories run by Western companies tend to have better working conditions and labor relations than factories run by Asian firms. The most disreputable of the foreign investors in the zones are the Koreans and the Taiwanese; both ACFTU officials and factory workers consider them the most abusive toward their employees. Some Korean and Taiwanese managers run their factories like boot camps. Workers are made to march to work in the morning, stand at attention and yell out company slogans. They are subject to iron discipline on the shopfloor and in the dormitories, and at times even suffer physical abuse.

Along with low pay and bad conditions, workers are harassed by a multitude of grinding constraints on their personal behavior. The government-run *Shenzhen Economic Zone News* reported recently on one Taiwanese shoe factory in Shenzhen, where most workers are paid about \$40 a month (40 percent below the official minimum wage) and are forced to work an average of 150 hours a month of overtime. Workers are also required to maintain strict silence during meals, and must not stray from a specially marked path when they walk to and from the factory buildings. Employees who break these rules are

either fined or forced to stand at attention for long periods. A huge sign hanging over an elevated walkway reads: "Loitering underneath, 100 yuan [\$20] penalty." In March, 3,000 workers staged a protest strike at the plant.

The controversy over maltreatment of Chinese workers by foreigners came to a head early last year, when devastating fires at two joint ventures run by a Hong Kong and a Taiwanese firm killed 150 workers and injured 60 others, drawing international attention. These man-made tragedies were caused by locked doors, barred windows, blocked exits and other blatant violations of fire codes, allegedly condoned by local authorities who had been bribed by factory managers. At one of these plants, the workers had not been paid for weeks and had been locked inside the compound to keep them from escaping. A third case that provoked national outrage involved a Taiwanese-run cutlery factory where 142 workers had had fingers or arms maimed on the job. Two years after the local authorities fined the manager, workers are still battling for compensation. Every year for the past three years, an astounding 22 percent of the factory's 400 workers have suffered industrial accidents.

As a result, the official union has declared that it will take serious steps to protect workers from such abuses. The union has vowed to organize and sign collective bargaining agreements at all foreign-funded factories within the next three years. But the ACFTU has made such declarations before, and few workers place much confidence in their grandiose designs. Unionized foreign enterprises are still rare. ACFTU officials claim to represent between 20 and 40 percent of the workers in foreign-owned plants, but these figures are probably exaggerated. Workers who want to organize face intimidation from managers who resist even the tame Chinese unions.

The ACFTU, one of the weakest bureaucracies in China, is in no position to champion workers rights. At the national level, it is under the control of the Communist Party, which is currently more concerned with industrial growth than labor protection. At the provincial and local level, the union is under the thumb of government officials whose paramount goal is to attract foreign investors. The most powerful local bureaucracy in southern China is the Foreign Economic Commission, which is in charge of foreign investments. The commission itself sometimes invests directly in joint-venture projects with foreign manufacturers, using the profits to pad its officials' salaries. The commission stands squarely in the foreign investors' corner.

Where a factory union does exist, more often than not its officials have been co-opted by the management. In fact, in some joint-venture firms the state-appointed factory manager doubles as the trade union chairman as well. In one joint-venture factory run by a Hong Kong corporation and a Chinese county government, a single person embodies the blessed trinity—he is at once the manager answerable to Hong Kong employers, the party branch

secretary and the trade union chairman. When I visited the factory's personnel manager, who is also the deputy trade union chair, she reached for a pile of leaflets detailing Guangdong province's labor regulations and casually handed me one to show that she is well aware of the laws. Unfortunately, she had forgotten that the leaflets, which came from the provincial government, were supposed to have been handed out to the factory's 1,500 workers, instead of being squirreled away in her office. Not surprisingly, the workers in her factory were ignorant of their rights under Chinese labor law. They said they were unaware that two months earlier the national government had shortened the official workweek from 48 to 44 hours; that working four hours overtime every night, as they do, violates Chinese law; or that workers must be paid time and a half for overtime.

Local governments in the export zones cooperate with management in suppressing unions. Their efforts often target workers' attempts to disseminate information about their legal rights and the growth of the labor movement. Last May, police in Shenzhen arrested three labor organizers who had been running evening classes for workers in the name of the Shenzhen Volunteers Association, an officially registered (and hence legal) organization. Two of those under arrest, Li Wenmin and Kuang Lezhuang, are local journalists and the third, Liu Hutang, is a worker. The authorities intervened when they discovered that the three were teaching workers about labor law.

At the time of the arrest, police found the organizers in possession of copies of *The Laborers' Forum*, an underground newsletter that agitates for the formation of independent trade unions. Its articles illustrate the harshness of Chinese factory life. But the newsletter also attests to a growing resistance, with editorials denouncing the "collusion between the government and enterprises" and calling on workers to unite. It even publishes blueprints on how to set up a trade union in the workplace.

The Chinese government is afraid that if industrial peace is not maintained, word will get out to potential investors that Chinese workers are no longer docile and hardworking. Capital might flee to other Asian countries such as Vietnam, which investors are now eyeing as the next frontier for labor-intensive export industries.

Chinese leaders realize that attracting foreign investors is a cut-throat business. While they need quiet in the factories, they are liable to pursue it not through meaningful reform, but through heightened surveillance and repression. In a speech this past March, a top functionary in the official Shenzhen trade union said that to control industrial disputes, the union will "assist [the police] in setting up security organizations inside bigger enterprises to monitor new developments." Such a plan does not bode well for the independent labor movement. ◀

Anita Chan, an Australian Research Council fellow, is the author of three books and numerous papers on China.

I N T H E A R T S

Learning by rote

*John Singleton
stacks the deck
in a film about
multicultural
campus
conflict.*

By Pat Dowell

Now that the Christmas box-office season is over, the major movie distributors have trotted out some of their less commercial prospects, among which we can count anything that resembles political drama. It hardly needs saying that Hollywood still thinks messages are best delivered by Western Union—unless you're Oliver Stone, of course. But the release of John Singleton's *Higher Learning* suggests that films about political conflict are becoming a genre consigned to minority filmmakers. In this case, the results are irritatingly incomplete and schematic, though at the same time engrossing.

Higher Learning is a TV-movie-ish diagram of campus culture clash, a movie whose only real virtue—and it's not an insignificant one—is its earnest desire to engage the issues. It only confirms suspicions that

John Singleton, who was nominated for an Oscar for directing *Boyz N the Hood*, just happened with this earlier film to be the right man in the right place at the right time.

Singleton never really seemed a spectacularly talented filmmaker so much as a well-meaning token of Industry Concern, a way to make up for the few opportunities to work behind the camera offered to blacks by the entertainment conglomerates. And one couldn't help thinking that Hollywood's pat on the back, especially the Oscar nomination—the first for an African-American director—was meant more as a rebuke to uppity Spike Lee than as a genuine anointing of Singleton.

Higher Learning follows three freshmen through their traumatic initiation rites at the fictional Columbus University. Omar Epps plays a black track and field star stymied by the collegiate world's expectations of him both on and off the field. Kristy Swanson is a suburban white girl who is date-raped on virtually her first date, and Michael Rapaport is a white loner from Idaho looking for a friend. Friends find him, in the form of an

Aryan brotherhood that would seem more at home in a prison movie than on a college campus.

As in *Boyz N the Hood*, Laurence Fishburne plays Singleton's mouthpiece and is the film's father-figure. In this case, he's in loco parentis as a political science prof who specializes in pragmatism and self-reliance. If Fishburne weren't so commanding in every role he plays, his Dr. Phipps would be as big a bore as some of the students seem to find him.

But there's no chance we'll be allowed to reach that conclusion. Like most Hollywood directors, Singleton is careful to program the audience's emotions in advance. We cycle through sympathy, anger and disgust in predictable stages as Rapaport's loner becomes increasingly weird and clumsy in his social behavior, ending up as a mass murderer. Epps has to go through the standard drill of learning to think for himself, with help from a more sensible black track star, played by model Tyra Banks, who falls in love with him. And when a traumatized Swanson is drawn to the campus feminist community, led by a lovely lesbian (sweet-faced Jennifer Connelly), Singleton makes it clear that Swanson is really just on the rebound from an ugly experience with men, a



Higher Learning
Directed by John Singleton



shock from which she'll recover. The only thing left for the audience to work out is just exactly who among the supporting cast will be the sacrificial lamb to the white supremacist sniper (hints—she must be beautiful, she must be innocent and she must be the main squeeze of a principal cast member who can take revenge).

Reviewers are saying that Singleton slights his white characters, but it seems to me more accurate to say that he slights the white female characters. The most notable lapse in his political correctness comes when Ice Cube, robustly playing the university's resident black nationalist, storms a frat house to collar the same guy who date-raped Swanson. But he's not there seeking justice for a rape victim; he just wants to complain about the fact that the frat boy called Swanson's roommate a "black bitch." He says nary a word about the rape, and for that matter, nor does anyone else. Singleton doesn't frame this omission as ironic; he just doesn't seem to notice.

Far more disappointing than the movie itself is the hostile reaction of the audience to Singleton's studied and sympathetic nod to homosexuality. Singleton seems to equate feminism with lesbianism in the most naive way, but at least he treats the token lesbian in his film gently. Not so America's filmgoers. Things haven't changed much since audiences gasped at the kiss between Peter Finch and Murray Head in

Sunday Bloody Sunday in 1971, and anyone who thinks so should visit the multiplex on Saturday night to see *Higher Learning* with a racially mixed crowd of suburban teenagers. Now that's an education.

Although Singleton's frosh trio is two-thirds white, Hollywood is pitching *Higher Learning* as a black movie, and not just because Singleton deals more urgently with the black experience. The very presence of racial conflict in *Higher Learning* pigeonholes it as a black movie, even though racism is by any sane definition a white problem. In the theater I attended, *Higher Learning* was preceded by trailers for every upcoming movie with a black director or star. No doubt there are some white filmmakers just itching to do a movie about racism, but afraid to take the inevitable heat from both sides. Yet Hollywood, like America at large, sees racism as something blacks have to fix.

The way this works in the film industry is that black filmmakers end up shouldering the white man's burden, and are neatly ghettoized to boot. *Higher Learning* is a textbook example of that principle at work.

For all its flaws, though, *Higher Learning* will tug at the heartstrings of any filmgoer who would like to see movies address something—anything!—real and substantive in our society. A stacked deck it may be, but at least Singleton gets the cards on the table. ◀

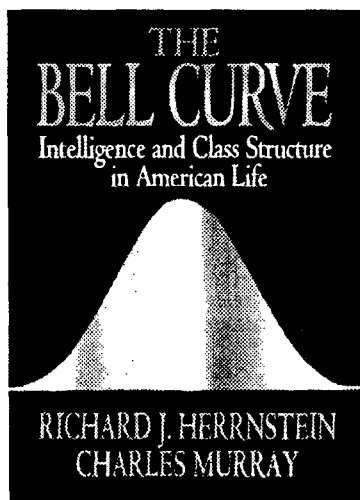
IN PRINT

Behind the curve

By Beth Maschinot

The Earth does look flat, and no matter how long you look at it from a certain vantage point, it will always look flat. But it is the job of the scientist to look beneath the sometimes deceptive appearance of things. In *The Bell Curve*, Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein have established themselves as the Flat Earthers of the social sciences, cavalierly dismissing years of respected scholarship in an attempt to revive the discredited idea of inherited black inferiority in intelligence. If their work were only bad science, we would hear little of it; but their bad science has been used as the foundation for a mean-spirited revival of Social Darwinism.

As readers well know by now, the authors of *The Bell Curve* have made much of the 15-point gap between the average IQ scores of whites and African-Americans. The gap is not imaginary: it's been noted by other researchers, and remains in attenuated form even when class differences are taken into account. Murray has jokingly referred to this finding in interviews as "the 800-



The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life
By Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray
The Free Press
845 pp., \$30



pound gorilla in the corner." His attempt to understand this phenomenon is just about as serious as the flippant remark implies.

Most psychologists and neuroscientists working on issues of cognitive development agree that genes exert some influence on our intellectual capacities, with different researchers estimating that from 40 percent to 80 percent of differences in intellectual ability are determined by our heredity. (Murray and Herrnstein set-

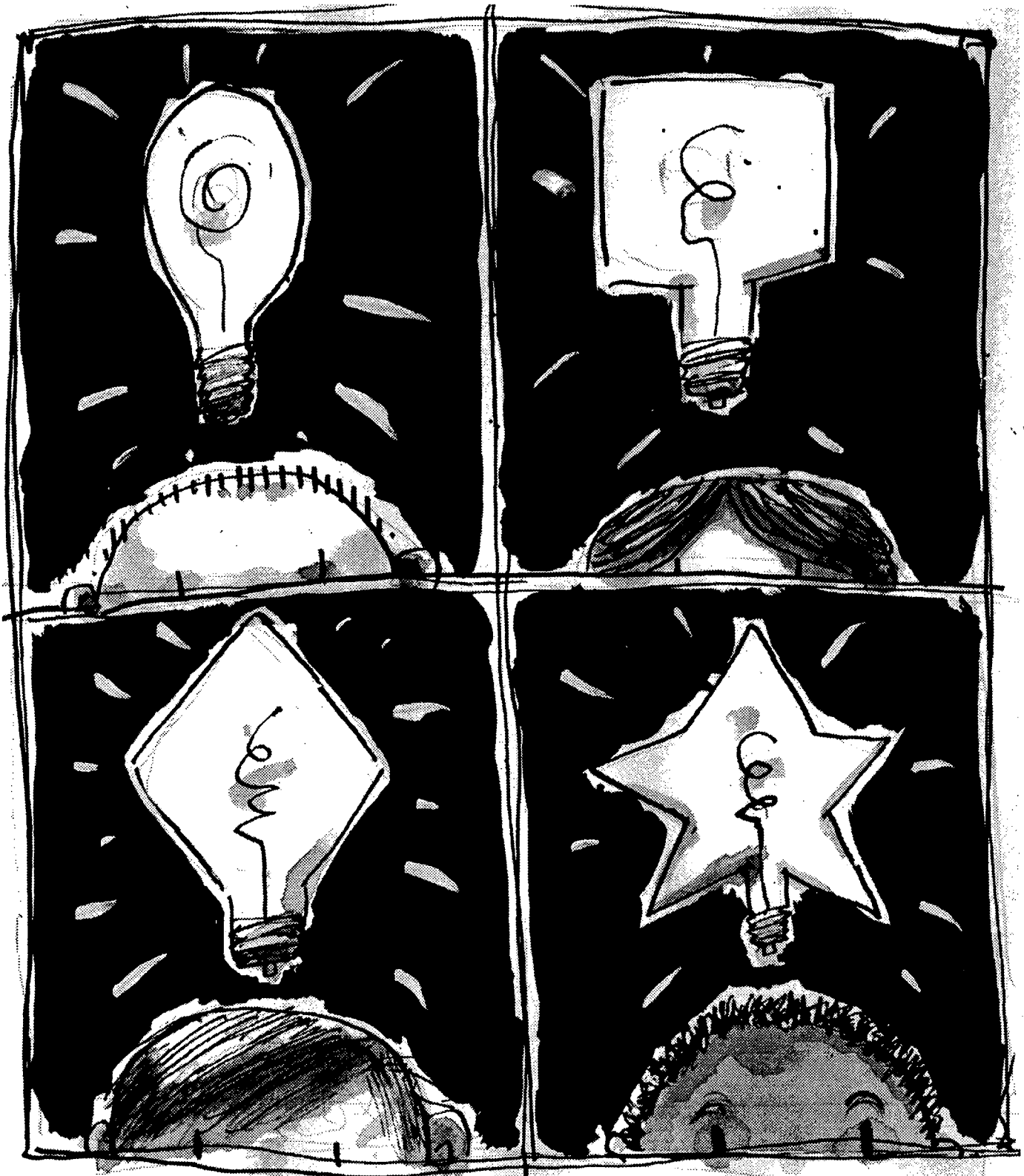
tle for a figure in the middle of these two extremes, suggesting that perhaps 60 percent of variation in IQ is due to heredity.) What all this means practically speaking is still being debated, but the mainstream of current thinking in both psychology and neurobiology holds that genes set the floor and the ceiling for many traits.

These studies say nothing about race. In fact, the common designations of different "races" make little sense to most geneticists: superficial differences in skin color between groups have often been the basis for social discrimination, but they often mask strong genetic affinities. Disregarding this altogether, and basing their argument on narrow sociological evidence and flimsy logic, Murray and Herrnstein leap to the conclusion that the gap in scores between African-Americans and whites is due to genetics. The two hide this bald assertion with much obfuscating argumentation—at one point saying they are "resolutely agnostic" on the question of the origin of blacks' lower IQ scores—but the implication is plain: "the evidence may become unequivocal that genes are a part of the story" of why blacks as a group don't succeed in U.S. society.

In their policy recommendations, Murray and Herrnstein are less equivocal, arguing that bad genes rule out the possibility of boosting cognitive development. Beyond a few points here or there, the two believe, intelligence is for all practical purposes immutable.

The left has tended to respond to *The Bell Curve* with simple dismissal. Some have been particularly scornful of the assumption that human intelligence can be accurately reflected in a single number, the IQ score. Expressing a particularly common view on the left, Alexander Cockburn and Ken Silverstein argue in *CounterPunch* that "what IQ measures is the ability of people to take IQ tests"—nothing more.

Such criticism is undoubtedly well-intentioned, but it misses the mark. True, IQ measures only one part of what is commonly called intelligence, the part that relates to a person's ability to think logically and spatially. But IQ scores—though hardly telling the whole story—do a reasonable job



© 1995 PETER HANNAN

of measuring a certain facility for abstract thought, one that is increasingly useful in a high-tech world. Though it's not always popular to say that IQ scores represent anything meaningful, if we sidestep this issue, we have sidestepped one of the painful truths that is lurking beneath the simplis-

tic graphs and overblown appendices of *The Bell Curve*. After all, it is hardly surprising that there would be cognitive differences between groups that have had different life chances. And, indeed, recent research suggests strongly that impoverished experiences in early childhood can be the

cause of such differences.

Of course IQ is not, as Murray and Herrnstein would have it, the only way to think about intelligence. A few reviewers, Stephen Jay Gould among them, have turned to an increasingly well-regarded theory called "multiple intelligences," which argues that the capacities measured by IQ tests are not the only forms of intelligence. This broader view of the mind also suggests that "intelligence" is not, as Murray and Herrnstein would argue, a quality fixed in stone. On a fundamental level, where and how we live, particularly in our early years, affects the way we think.

Harvard professor Howard Gardner defines intelligence as "a set of skills that enable the individual to resolve genuine problems that he or she encounters." Distinct problems call for distinct cognitive solutions, and rely on capabilities that originate in different areas of the brain. These include spheres traditionally thought of as part of cognitive capacity, such as logical-mathematical and linguistic abilities, both of which are measured on IQ tests.

But societies require other skills as well in order to function and flourish: musical talents, interpersonal skills and so on. Scientists have become increasingly aware that such different problem-solving capacities are tied into very specific areas in the brain: a lesion to one section of the brain will damage the person's ability only in one circumscribed sphere.

Gardner does believe that there is *some* genetic component to all these different intelligences. But genes aren't everything: well-timed learning is essential in order to develop these capabilities. For Gardner, as well as for most neuroscientists who delve seriously into brain development, the first several years of life are crucial in this process.

In an effort to appear to be objective, Herrnstein and Murray mention multiple intelligences theory in *The Bell Curve*, as they do many other views contrary to their own. But they dismiss the theory without fully engaging it. Herrnstein, the psychometrician of the two, throws his political coinage behind the almighty *g*, the great God of psychometricians that has reigned since Charles Spearman invented it in 1904. *G*, or general factor of intelligence, was "discovered" by Spearman using a newly developed statistical technique (early-factor analysis) to evaluate intelligence data. In brief, Spearman took several different tests attempting to measure intelligence, and analyzed them in order to identify the common factor that might account for correlations among the tests. As Murray and Herrnstein admit, "the evidence for a general factor in intelligence was pervasive, but circumstantial, based on statistical analysis rather than observation. Its reality therefore was, and remains, arguable."

What they don't mention (as Gould has pointed out in his *New Yorker* review) is that 30 years later, psychologist L.L. Thurstone rotated the factors in Spearman's factor analysis—a process commonly done in the social sciences in order to look at competing hypotheses—and a different profile of cognitive capabilities appeared, one more in

keeping with the multiple intelligences theory. Yet Murray and Herrnstein stand by *g*, even though developments in brain research in the past 10 years strongly support the multiple intelligences theory.

Murray and Herrnstein remain convinced that IQ scores, and the type of intelligence they measure, can't be improved by environmental manipulations. Yet the evidence they produce in support of this claim is weak and often contradictory.

In a chapter titled "Raising Cognitive Ability," for example, the two take aim at some of the better-known research on the ways in which environment can affect IQ and school achievement. The classic case, of course, is the Head Start program, which has been shown in a number of studies to raise IQ points among poor children by as much as 10 points. *The Bell Curve* presents the usual conservative complaints against the program—that its effects on IQ are only temporary, and fade out entirely by the sixth grade. Yet Murray and Herrnstein ignore the obvious fact that once they leave Head Start, poor students typically attend substandard schools from the first grade onward. The fact that IQ scores drop again after this experience should lead one logically to conclude that intelligence as defined by IQ tests is highly responsive to environmental manipulations, not the reverse, as Murray and Herrnstein would have it.

The Bell Curve also mentions a program that is more intensive than Head Start (and more rigorously researched), the Abecedarian Project that began under the supervision of psychologist Craig Ramey at the University of North Carolina in the '70s. This program is a benchmark for all other intensive preschool programs. Twelve years ago, Ramey took a group of 111 black children judged at-risk for below-average IQs by well-established criteria: parental IQs averaged 85; most of the mothers had not graduated from high school; the majority of the families were on welfare. From four months onward, half of the group was placed in a preschool where the staff focused on talking to the child in a manner that was, according to Ramey, "modeled on what a middle-class mother establishes with her child." The children were also exposed to an "enriched" environment: given healthy food and interesting toys and surrounded by many playmates. By age 3, the "treated" group averaged 17 points higher than the control group on the Stanford-Binet IQ tests (101 vs. 84).

Even more impressive is the fact that these differences in IQ persisted more than a decade later, when the children were attending neighborhood public schools. The children in the Abecedarian Project, unlike those in Head Start, were assigned a "Home-School Resource Teacher," a person who met with the family bi-weekly and taught the parents how to participate in school-assigned learning activities with their kids. The children were recently tested again, after they finished sixth grade, and the results showed an average 10-point IQ gain for those in Ramey's program.

What do Murray and Herrnstein make of this finding?

They say that “the major stumbling block to deciding what the Abecedarian Project has accomplished is that the experimental children had already outscored the controls by at least as large a margin by the age of 1 or 2 years, as they had after nearly five intensive years of day care.” And they go on to assert that there are only two explanations for this result: “[P]erhaps the intervention had achieved all of its effects in the first year of the project (which, if true, would have important policy implications). Or perhaps the experimental and control groups were different to begin with,” i.e., there was no random selection and therefore the experiment is invalid.

There are, of course, other explanations, including one supported by the last decade of research on brain development: that the brain is highly responsive to its surroundings and that it goes through critical periods in which the connections between brain cells must have certain kinds of sensory stimulation in order to develop. Some of these critical periods are in the first few years of life. It is then that the brain is strengthening dendritic connections between cells, ensuring that the capacity to think logically (as well as spatially, musically and so on) is being developed. This does not mean, as Murray simplistically suggests, that a year or two of intensive day care would be enough for these children to maintain their gains. Current research by neurobiologists indicates that the brain continues to need the ongoing stimulation of an enriched environment, filled with diverse and interesting sensory experiences, in order for the dendritic connections to keep from withering.

Research on this subject is being conducted by several scientists around the country, including neuroscientists Bruce Perry from the University of Chicago, Robert Jacobs from UCLA and William Greenough from the University of Illinois, and Yale biologist Martha Constantine-Paton. Such research has flourished during the last decade thanks to new understandings in molecular biology and the recent development of brain-imaging techniques. Now that scientists have a way of viewing how the brain develops, they no longer see it as a static organ untouched by the environment, as Murray and Herrnstein suggest it is. Instead, the world provides a kind of “food” for the brain, which “digests” sensory stimulation and reassembles the experience in the form of trillions of connections between brain cells that are either growing or dying. And so the environment produces actual physical changes in the shape of the brain.

There is a gloomy side to this picture: if you fail to have the proper stimulation at an early age, it is exceedingly difficult to learn what might be presented to you later, because your brain hasn’t laid down the basic “wiring” that it needs. This is why neuroscientists are fast becoming the loudest proponents for programs like Head Start and the Abecedarian Project.

The brain, in short, is the “ultimate use it or lose it machine,” as Greenough has suggested. And while neuroscientists generally agree that there are genetic variations that contribute to brain development, they’re skeptical of

Murray and Herrnstein’s conception of the brain as an unchanging edifice of general intelligence. Rather, they suggest, different brains have different blueprints for growth; the pattern of brain functioning for, say, Charlie Parker would be different than the pattern for Virginia Woolf.

Most scientists in the field agree with Dr. Frederick Goodwin, director of the National Institute of Mental Health, that IQ scores can vary as much as 15 or 20 points, depending on the early environment. This, of course, is the average increase that the children in the Abecedarian Project sustained. It also coincides with the range that now separates African-Americans and whites in this country.

This newer brain research has not been buried—in fact, a series of articles by Ronald Kotulak in the *Chicago Tribune* describing it won the Pulitzer Prize for science reporting last year—and the authors of *The Bell Curve* were certainly aware of it when they wrote their book. But the evidence of brain localization and brain plasticity directly contradicts their most basic assumptions: that a general type of intelligence exists, and that you can’t do much to change it.

In the conclusion of their chapter on the putative impossibility of raising cognitive abilities, Murray and Herrnstein hint at the real problem: “[T]he nation cannot conceivably implement an Abecedarian Project for all disadvantaged children. It is not just the dollar amounts that put such ambitions out of reach (though they do) but the impossibility of staffing them.” Such programs, they claim, would require teacher-to-child ratios of one-to-three. While such ratios clearly are far from the standard in American preschools today, they are the norm for countries that take day care seriously (such as Sweden), and not unheard of in the advantaged sectors of our society. The problem is that we just don’t want to pay for the chance for all of our citizens to develop to the best of their abilities. *The Bell Curve* gives a pseudo-scientific rationale for the pervasive mood of indifference.

It’s true, as most critics of *The Bell Curve* have stated or implied, that a society is one-dimensional indeed if it utilizes or rewards only one type of brainpower. Those who look upon IQ as a sole measure of cognitive capacity do have a narrow understanding that devalues many of the experiences and people that enrich our world.

But there is a more crucial question at stake in *The Bell Curve* debate: when will we take responsibility for the inequality that continues to plague our poorer children? Murray and Herrnstein’s proposals would only widen the gap between those lucky enough to be born into an enriched world and those who are not. But our critiques will do nothing to close this gap unless we’re willing to look more closely at its causes. ◀

Beth Maschinot teaches human development at the University of Chicago, and is a researcher for Youth Guidance, a Chicago social service agency that runs creative arts and counseling programs for inner-city high school students.

The age of insurgency

By Van Gosse

The dirty wars in Central America played the role of Banquo's Ghost throughout the '80s, stalking periodically into view to mock the pretensions of Reagan's America with bloody hands. Now, halfway through the '90s, these conflicts already seem like quaint anachronisms to most Americans. The downed mercenary Eugene Hasenfus, the four U.S. churchwomen killed in El Salvador, Archbishop Oscar Romero, the Kissinger Commission, Contadora, William Casey, Daniel Ortega—outside of a few remaining partisans, who remembers any of it very clearly? With remarkable speed, the most notorious, long-running political debate of the last decade has been shredded and dumped, along with all the other white papers and tape transcripts of the Cold War. Only Oliver North remains, grinning like a bandit.

As with so much that went on in the Reagan era, explaining the fuss in Central America to future generations is going to be very difficult. The tinny rhetoric of "Soviet-Cuban sponsored terrorism" and an imminent flood of "feet people" sweeping north through Mexico with Red tanks on their heels now sounds like dialogue from an unfilmed screenplay. Unfortunately, so do all those lusty chants of "Si Nicaragua Vencio, El Salvador Vencera!" that dominated radical politics in the '80s. Is it possible that the U.S. obsession with revolution and counterrevolution in the isthmus between Colombia and Mexico was simply a mirage for both right and left, an implicit restaging of Vietnam?

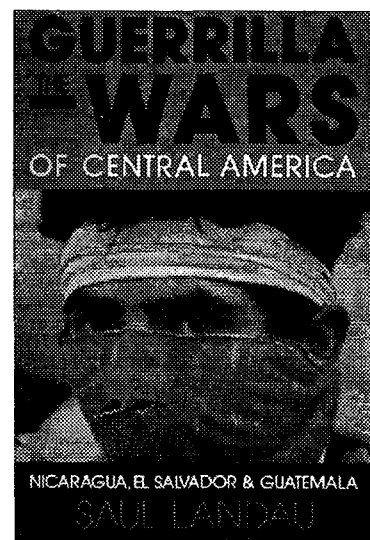
Saul Landau's recent book, *The Guerrilla Wars of Central America: Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala*, provides a grim answer to that question, but one that cannot be easily dismissed, no matter how much "optimism of the will" is invoked. In brief, he suggests that not only the gringos but the Central Americans themselves were trapped by ideological

obsolescence. With even a little hindsight, says Landau, "the 1980s' wars in Central America emerge as a series of bizarre undertakings that occurred in one of those rare transition periods in which history moves from one identifiable era to another." For Landau, the illusion common to all sides was that the late 20th century was a new revolutionary epoch in which the independent socialist nations of the Third World would be in a position to face down the United States. Following victories in Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, Zimbabwe and other "national liberation" struggles of the '60s and '70s, it certainly seemed that way, and nowhere more so than in Central America after the Sandinista triumph of July 19, 1979.

Events have run in a very different direction, of course, and to Landau this is powerful evidence of how fragile the "nineteenth-century ideal" of revolutionary nationalism was. Describing how "the age of revolution had waned" by 1990, he concludes that "the uprisings of the 1970s and 1980s may well have symbolized the end of an historic era that had endured more than a century, one in which peoples aspired to nationhood, meaningful concepts of sovereignty and independence."

In place of national liberation, Landau sees a future dominated by the indirect but pervasive rule of public and private finance capital in the Northern metropolises, exerted most directly through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. In this scenario, global "neoliberalism" has made the sovereign nation-state now a fiction in most of the Third World, since the Soviet Union no longer exists as an insurance agency for revolution. If he's right, the wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala in retrospect take on a strictly residual character, as two antagonists trapped in their own histories fought past the point of reason—the United States to preserve a century-old habit of direct hegemony that was already out of date, the guerrilla fighters for a socialism that had become a chimera.

Thankfully, Landau is not a dispassionate observer, and *The Guerrilla Wars of Central America* is not another somber treatise on the failure of revolution and the passing of an epoch. For the most part, it is popular histo-



**The Guerrilla Wars of
Central America: Nicaragua,
El Salvador and Guatemala**
By Saul Landau
St. Martin's Press
222 pp., \$21.95

ry of the old-fashioned sort that rarely gets written nowadays—neither studiously footnoted and comprehensively academic, nor the kind of minutely detailed potboiler that Washington journalists turn out on the heels of every world crisis, of the “Schwarzkopf turned to Powell and glared” variety. Instead, Landau has fashioned a brief, angry, chatty narrative treating Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala as individual versions of a common phenomenon—“armed struggle” patterned on the revolutionary precepts of Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh. In each case, he looks backwards just enough to sketch the legacy of dictatorship, poverty and U.S. intervention before covering in greater detail the main features of the recent period; and in each case he leaves no doubt that the overwhelming responsibility is borne by those he still refers to, in unvarnished terms, as the “U.S. imperialists.”

Is this a useful book? Perhaps not for someone already steeped in the history of Central America’s wars. There are no new facts or startling interpretations here in terms of the political-military strategies of any side or the character of mass repression. But even the most jaded veteran of the solidarity movement may still get a charge from reading it all again, at a slight distance.

The main virtue of *The Guerrilla Wars of Central America*, though, lies in its plainspoken clarity for the non-specialist. In making such a synoptic account available for the reader who did not pick coffee in Nicaragua or picket the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador, Landau has performed a real service. In this light it is unfortunate, though not damning, that some egregious errors regarding dates, chronologies and names are scattered throughout the book.

But Landau’s book is more than just a wide-angle primer on certain recent revolutions. It contains a distinct viewpoint on the character of empire at the end of the American Century, and on the strengths and weaknesses of what was, until not long ago, the pre-eminent means of escaping the imperial grasp. In arguing that armed struggle and national liberation have failed as anti-imperial strategies, Landau forces us to attempt an accurate assessment of the current balance sheet. Cuba, Vietnam, Angola—they are each a blasted hope, as all but the most willfully hopeful will acknowledge, although admitting this does not lessen the obligations of solidarity. Regardless of where one assigns the blame—to the vanguard parties and their garrison states or to the specialists in low-intensity conflict who made the garrison state the only option for survival—no one should expect a dynamic socialism from these post-revolutionary husks.

But in Central America the picture is less clear, and perhaps not as bleak as Landau paints it. Paradoxically, as Jorge Castañeda has pointed out, Latin America may have some unique opportunities at the present juncture, with the waning of the Cold War and the newfound respect for electoral legitimacy in the hemisphere. The generals are back in the barracks, and may find it very difficult to come out of them again. The armed left in Central America deserves seri-

ous credit for bringing about an historical watershed, however different the results are from what was originally intended. The guerrilla movements may in the long run prove to have been the only possible agents for bringing an elemental level of political pluralism and sheer decency to their respective nations. Of course, a once-fashionable synonym for pluralism and respect for juridical and electoral norms was the term “bourgeois democracy.” But now even the most rigorous Marxists in Central America have dropped the qualifying adjective, as they claim a social space never before available to the peasant and worker masses.

Landau’s counter-argument to this rosier view of what the ’80s produced in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala is that the national state, democratized or not, is no longer a meaningful vehicle for achieving any structural reform, given the international control of virtually all investment capital, credit and trade. Certainly no one on the left in Central America or anywhere else is talking about instituting socialist property relations in the short term, so he’s right in a sense. But I’ll risk a prediction that what are euphemistically called the “international financial institutions” will find these poor, weak nations of the once-and-future Third World no easier to control than did the Americans.

There is a further lesson to be drawn from Landau’s book. What comes through most strongly in his sympathetic and knowledgeable account is the extraordinary persistence displayed by radicals in each of these countries, their refusal to accept that history could no longer be made in the mountains of Nicaragua, the hills of El Salvador or the Guatemalan highlands, and their ability to learn from the past and to rise somehow from its ashes. After all, throughout Latin America there had been constant attempts to emulate Fidel Castro’s legendary guerrilla “*foco*” in the ’60s and early ’70s, and most had failed abysmally. What happened in Central America is that the left came back—it learned hard lessons about the need for unity and military coordination, about making the broadest possible alliances, and above all about building its own unarmed “popular movement” that could complement the work of the urban and rural clandestine fighters.

In the end, this example of resilience and the willingness to continually adapt and rethink is what we can draw from *The Guerrilla Wars of Central America*. Landau is indisputably correct in warning that there will be no more Cubas and no more Vietnams, and that even in the ’80s the United States had little to fear, given the limited space left for any socialist and revolutionary state. But many people in Latin America, and even in our own country, will look back upon the guerrilla wars in Central America as an example of how to “win”—even when there is no margin for error, and when victory must remain partial and contingent. We need more examples, more such actually existing history, if we are to escape from the imprisonment of our own pasts. ◀
Van Gosse teaches at Trinity College in Hartford, Conn., and is the author of *Where the Boys Are: Cuba, Cold War America and the Making of a New Left*.

C L A S S I F I E D S

► HELP WANTED

IN THESE TIMES IS SEEKING an advertising manager, full or part time to be determined. Aggressive, eager, creative, persistent, responsible types wanted. Salary or commission to be negotiated. Call Claudia Morris (312) 772-0100 ext. 224. Or send résumé to ITT, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

ORGANIZER to work with unions, church congregations, citizens' groups in Mississippi River communities. Concerns include jobs, health & safety, public services, environment, \$22k/yr. EOE. Résumé: Louisiana Labor/Neighbor Project, 8841 Bluebonnet Ave., #C, Baton Rouge, LA 70810; (504) 769-7939.

SEARCH FOR COLLABORATOR-PARTNER. Books tentatively titled: *Cost of the (Unnecessary) Cold War—In Dollars, Lives and Democratic Insti-*

tutions and Mass Murders of the 20th Century. Write Aronson, 5820 Bikini Way So., St. Petersburg, FL 33706.

UNION ORGANIZERS: National labor union seeks organizing directors/lead organizers to perform a central role in building a progressive industrial union. Must be able to recruit, train and direct the work of other organizers in large campaigns or regional organizing programs. Minimum two years' organizing experience with a solid record of helping workers to form unions. Must be willing to relocate or travel. Salary negotiable, excel-

lent fringe benefits. Send résumé to OCAW-SPD, P.O. Box 281200, Lakewood, CO 80228.

COMMUNITY JOBS: The Employment Newspaper for the Non-Profit Sector. Join over 50,000 job-seekers in reading a unique monthly publication containing more than 200 new job listings (in Environment, Arts, International, Health, Youth, Civil Rights, Housing, Human Services, etc.). Featuring informative articles, book reviews, resource lists, profiles

of non-profit organizations and the people who found them. Contact: Community Jobs, 30 Irving Place Fl. 9, New York, NY 10003-2303.

► PUBLICATIONS

THE OLD FART: A magazine for and by curmudgeons. Send \$10 check for a one-year subscription to this quarterly publication to: Box 83509, 199 Avenue Rd. Toronto, Canada M5R 3S2 (Tel/FAX 416-975-2614) or send \$20, one for yourself and one for your favorite curmudgeon.

MAKE PEOPLE LAUGH LIKE NEVER BEFORE! Stay healthier-happier! Professional humor secrets/tips. Free Information! FUNNYBIZ-TT, 9551 Riverview, Eden Prairie, MN 55347.

ANARCHIST COOKBOOK \$30. Uncensored edition! Underground book catalog \$2. FS Book Company, P.O. Box 417457, Dept. IN, Sacramento, CA 95841-7457.

► BOOKS

CAXTON BOOKSEARCH. Box 220, Ellison Bay, WI 54210. We'll order or search for any book. (800) 288-7724.

RARE VIDEO

Discover FACETS VIDEO's astonishing collection of 20,000 foreign, classic American, silent, documentary, fine arts and children's videos and laser disks that you will simply not find anywhere else. Purchase or rent by mail. FACETS VIDEO, 1517 W. Fullerton, Chicago 60614. FREE SAMPLER CATALOG: 1-800-331-6197

CHIAPAS

CHALLENGING HISTORY

INDIGENOUS VIEWPOINTS ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTHERN MEXICO

SPECIAL EDITION OF *ANARCHIST COOKBOOK* SINGLE ISSUE: \$14.00 PPD. ONE YEAR SUBSCRIPTION: \$18.00 (U.S.) CHECK/VISA/MC TO: 300-IT CALDWELL HALL, CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, NY 14853

Perspectiva
You can learn more
Spanish
reading the news
◆ World news monthly
◆ Intermediate Spanish
◆ Bilingual glossary
◆ \$25 subscription

EDUCATIONAL NEWS SERVICE
Box 60478-ITT, FLORENCE, MA 01060
◆ Ask about: *Standpunkt* in German

1-800-600-4494
Free Brochure

MURRAY BOOKCHIN ON VIDEO

"Visions of a New Society:
Parts 1 & 2";

"Q & A on Freedom and Democracy";
"Reflections of a Revolutionary";

"The Sixties: Myth, Reality, Lessons:
Parts 1 & 2".

Each title 2 hours. \$15.00 each.
6 tape set \$70.00.

Check or money order to:

TURNING THE TIDE
76 1/2 Lincoln Ave.
St. Albans, VT 05478
PH: 802-524-0478

FREE CATALOG available includes
Bookchin, Parenti, Zinn, many others.

JEWISH CURRENTS

February, 1995 Issue

"Peace Process Needs Our
Support," editorial; "What
Jesse Jackson Really Said," edi-
torial; "The Coops: More than
a Reunion," Irv Lipner;
"Encounter in Beijing,"
Jack Jacobs.

Single issue: \$3.
Subscription: \$30 yearly (USA).

JEWISH CURRENTS
Dept. T, Suite 601
22 E. 17 St., New York, NY 10003

HISTORIC REPRINT of the 1936 Masterpiece.... CHRISTIANITY'S SOCIAL RECORD

by Joseph McCabe,
World-Famous Historical Scholar

A concise, provocative, fact-filled account showing
how the Christian Church retarded human progress
and reeked with vice and corruption from early times
through the Reformation period; and that an indictment
of ecclesiastical abuses was finally brought about by
Deists, Skeptics and Atheists.

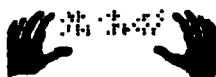
Paper \$4.00 ppd. (USA)

INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS, P.O. Box 102, Ridgefield, N.J. 07657

Imperialism, Inner-Cities,
Activism, Feminism, etc....

Free catalog:
Real Books
1518 W. Thorndale,
Chicago, IL 60660

Our Right To Know Braille Press, Inc.



For blind and print-handicapped persons, FI - FREEDOM IDEAS INTERNATIONAL, a quarterly review of minority and independent publications, includes selected articles from IN THESE TIMES. Produced by Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc., on 4-track 15/16 ips cassette tape. A 4-issue subscription costs \$5.

**The Our Right to Know
Braille Press, Inc.**
640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217
(313) 842-1804

CALENDARS

CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB
1995 wall calendar, \$7.95 plus \$1.25 postage. An excellent holiday gift for your feline loving friends. Order from: Nebraskans for Peace, 129 N. 10th St., Rm 426A, Lincoln, NE 68508 or call (402) 475-4620. VISA/MC orders call (402) 437-6238.

CATALOGS

FREE CATALOG. Fantasy stickers, signs, notecards, address labels. TK, Box N-1951, Baltimore, MD 21203.

Concerned Singles Newsletter
links compatible singles who care about peace, social justice, gender equity, racism, and the environment.
Nationwide All ages • Since 1984
FREE SAMPLE: Box 555-T, Stockbridge, Massachusetts 01262

GOOD VIBRATIONS
Friendly, informative catalogs of sex toys, books & videos, \$4.
1210 Valencia #1T San Francisco, CA 94110

FOR RENT

CHICAGO-SMALL OFFICE SPACE
available for business or personal use. \$150/month includes utilities. Use of office equipment negotiable. Call Jim Weinstein at (312) 772-0100.

PERSONALS

OPEN RELATIONSHIPS, GROUP MARRIAGE, intimate friendship. Interested? Discreetly contact others. SASE for details. Current issue \$4.00. Touchpoint, P.O. Box 408-TT1, Chloride, AZ 86431.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER
links compatible, socially conscious singles who care about peace, social

Bad Subjects

Political Education for Everyday Life.
A FREE zine available WORLDWIDE on the Internet. *Bad Subjects* is an effort to revitalize American leftist politics by challenging its orthodoxies and focusing on the political dimensions of our everyday lives. Articles have covered Hong Kong action movies, malls, Rush Limbaugh, critiques of multiculturalism. U.S. Christian right politics, sexual preferences, contemporary Marxism and much, much more. Find us in gopherspace: uclink.berkeley.edu (port 52673). Our Website: URL <http://english-server.hss.cmu.edu/BadSubjects.html> email /snail mail : bad@uclink-berkeley.edu/322 Wheeler Hall, UC Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 94720.

"Surprisingly lively and smart."
-SF Chronicle.

justice, racism, gender equity and the environment. Nationwide. Since 1984. All ages. Free sample: Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

MISCELLANEOUS

"NO NEWT IS GOOD NEWT"—Suffering from NEWTmares? Bumper Sticker—1/\$3, 4/\$10. Gin/Gold, POB 74-T, Midpines, CA 95345.

AUTOGRAPHS, BANNERS, political pins, leathers, baseball cards, sports memorabilia wanted. Highest price paid. Stan Block, 128 Cynthia Road, Newton, MA 02159.

DISEASE TREATMENTS. Hospital-tee, safe utilization of colored light. Free information packet. Dinshah Health Society, P.O. Box 707-I, Malaga, NJ 08328.

DO YOU HAVE SPANKING FANTASIES? We do—hundreds—and ours are for sale. Romantic, erotic, disciplinary, wherever the muse wanders. For a 24-page catalogue send \$3.00 to CF Publications, Box 706TT, E. Setauket, NY 11733.

NO MORE NEWS!
© 1995 Bumper Snickers
\$2 each; 3/\$5. Check, M/O to:
Bumper Snickers, 15 Keswick Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15202

PENISES OF THE ANIMAL KINGDOM
Comparative anatomy chart (23 x 35) depicts the male copulatory organs of several animals, from man to whale. Features the fingerlike appendage of the porpoise penis, the extended urethra of the giraffe, and many other genital curiosities. A lithograph of rare quality suitable for framing. Idea, as an educational resource, decoration for home or office or unique gift. \$8.95 + \$2 for p & n to Scientific Novelty Co. Box 673-M2 Bloomington IN 47402. Delivery by Christmas on request for orders received by 12/21.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Work Like Your Own Sales Force.

Word Rates:

95¢ per word / 1-2 issues
85¢ per word / 3-5 issues
80¢ per word / 6-9 issues
75¢ per word / 10-19 issues
65¢ per word / 20+ issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$30 per inch / 1-2 issues
\$28 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$26 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$24 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$22 per inch / 20+ issues

Classified ads must be prepaid. Send your copy, coupon and payment to:
IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads,
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ issue(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.



Continued from page 40
unveiled at the 1996 Republican Convention.

Helmsian Waves

Created by the atomic bombardment of tobacco leaves with a plasma rendered from charred Porterhouse steak drippings, Helmsian Waves emit a powerful, random radiation earlier predicted by chaos theorists. Produced by what one scientist described as "a series of tiny, sub-atomic strokes," Helmsian Waves generate a subtle time-reversal effect on nearby organisms. One subject of the experiment gave this typical description of the effects of exposure: "I felt a blast of hot air. When I opened my eyes, it was 1959 and I was on a corner in Tarborough, N.C. I felt the warm glow of white-maleness radiating through me, strong and proud."

Term Warps

RIDPAC scientists assigned to study the problematic nature of "term limits" have discovered a strange anomaly. Utilizing sensitive atomic clocks, they detected a powerful distortion of the normal time-space continuum inside the Beltway. As Sen. Strom Thurmond described it, "It's mighty odd. A six-year term feels like three years. I barely get started and it's over. Is it my metabolism? Sunspots? Liverspots in Turkmenistan? I don't know, but I'm not leaving." Term-limit legislation will be kept on hold until a committee issues a final report on the phenomenon sometime in 1997.

Woody Igou is a writer living in Orlando, Fla.



Subscribe to ITT!

☐ NEW SUBSCRIPTION.

You'll receive your first issue in 4-6 weeks. Please check price and terms below. ASTH1

☐ RENEW NOW.

We'll extend your current subscription for as long as you like. This saves you worries about expiring and helps us save money and the environment by not sending renewal notices and bills. ART1

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

MOVING:

Fill out old address above, and new address below. Allow 4-6 weeks for change.

NEW ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

☐ WHAT A GREAT GIFT IDEA!

(Just try and find a gift with more thought behind it. Fill out your name above and the lucky person's name here.) ASTH1

NAME OF RECIPIENT _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PRICES & TERMS.....

- ☐ One year, 26 issues: \$35.95 ☐ Six months, 13 issues: \$19.95
☐ Institutional, one year: \$59.00
☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me Charge my ☐ Visa ☐ MC

ACCOUNT NUMBER / EXPIRATION DATE _____

Canadian orders, add: \$27.50 (one year), \$13.50 (six months) postage. All other foreign orders add: \$41.00 (one year), \$20.50 (six months).

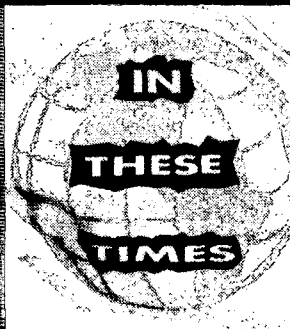
Mail to: IN THESE TIMES Customer Service,
308 Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054

Or call: 1-800-827-0270

The ITT 'T'

DON'T BE LEFT OUT.

Order one today!



FRONT ↑ BACK ↓



In 2 colors on white heavyweight cotton. Sizes M-L-XL just \$14.95 (Illinois residents pay \$16.25). To order write: ITT T-shirt, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60647. To use MC/VISA, call Claudia at (312) 772-0100, ext. 221.

Newtonian physics

By Woody Igou

Since the elevation of Newt Gingrich to master of the known universe, physicists across the country have begun to reassess long-held theories on the nature of reality. "The paradigm has shifted!" crowed Alvin Toffler, spokesman for the newly formed Republican Institute for the Deliberalization of Physics, Astronomy and Cosmology (RIDPAC). "The cosmological mandate of the American people demands a return to the basic, core values of Newtonian physics. The average citizen is fed up with the hedonistic decadence created by the failures of quantum theory over the last 30 years. We will end the decline of morals caused by amoral Einsteinian relativism. We say no more 'free rides' at the speed of light for muons, gluons, or any other esoteric, multicultural particles in taxpayer-funded cyclotrons!"

RIDPAC unveiled their ambitious "Three-Part Planck" at a recent Conservative Futurist League conference held at Reinhardt College in Waleska, Ga. Holding forth on the very stage where he created his now famous junior college lecture series, House Speaker Gingrich outlined the program:

1. The reduction of electron gains and their taxing effect remains the Holy Grail of Newtonian physics. The fiscal unburdening of the heavier elements, those that are stable and rich in isotopes, will result in a cascading electron trickle to elements lower on the Periodic Chart, thus enriching the entire universe.

What amazing discoveries and theories can we expect to emerge from these newly galvanized Newtonians during the next two years of this new physics? Three bold predictions:

The Certainty Principle

Calling the Heisenberg Uncertainty Principle an "outdated existential morass of moral quicksand," Professor Pat Robertson, a leading RIDPAC researcher, will announce the discovery of "The Certainty Principle" in late 1995. Professor Robertson's wide-ranging theory will "end the troubling debate on a broad range of modern scientific issues, including the origin of the universe, evolution and the existence of angels." The theory will be part of a larger Robertson theory entitled "The Theory of Everything," which will be

Continued on page 39

2. Entanglements in far-flung sectors of the universe have resulted in a weakening and stretching thin of our scientific capability. Our national interests are not at stake in probing quasars and black holes at the edge of the universe; however, the Contract with America's small print does allow the placement of orphanages in space stations, providing that geosynchronous orbit keeps the children within 1,000 miles of their biological parents.

3. Quantum-theory approaches to solving the problems of cosmic dark matter have failed, resulting only in continued proton dependency and inner-atom decay. Experiments to combat the rise of the single neutron family of elements have failed. Quantum quotas will be abolished.



©1995 TERRY LABAN